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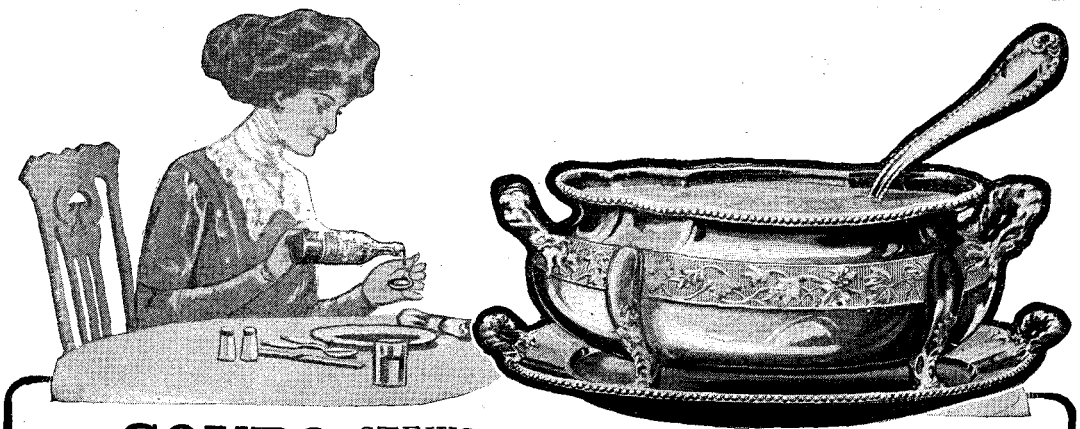

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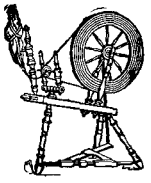

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The Outlook

APRIL 16, 1910

LYMAN ABBOTT, Editor-in-Chief. HAMILTON W. MABIE, Associate Editor
THEODORE ROOSEVELT
Contributing Editor

MR. ROOSEVELT AND THE VATICAN INCIDENT

"I wish I could make every member of a Christian church feel that just in so far as he spends his time in quarreling with other Christians of other churches he is helping to discredit Christianity in the eyes of the world." These words were used by Mr. Roosevelt in the address before the American Mission at Khartum, which is printed in full in this issue of The Outlook. It is precisely this feeling that prompted Mr. Roosevelt to write his message to the American people through The Outlook, the keynote of which was, to quote one sentence, "the avoidance of harsh and bitter comment between and among good men." This deprecation of any rancor or acrimonious feeling has been generally understood and respected, and the warning has been accepted by men of all creeds. But an exception, grossly ill advised and lamentable, is found in the expressions put forth in Rome by Mr. Tipple, the pastor of the Methodist Church there. In this manifesto violent attacks were made on the Roman hierarchy, and such phrases were used as these: "To be anathematized by the Roman hierarchy is to be named a friend. It is to be noted that Mr. Roosevelt does not indorse the accusations made by the Vatican against the Methodists of Rome." As a consequence of this utterance, Mr. Roosevelt issued the following statement, as cabled by Mr. John Callan O'Laughlin, former Assistant Secretary of State, and now correspondent for the New York "Times:"

I had made no arrangements to speak at any church or clerical organization in Rome. I have received a number of gentlemen of all religious faiths who have called at my rooms or at the American Embassy.

Under the circumstances I have requested the American Ambassador not to hold the reception which he had intended to hold Wednesday afternoon.

As regards all efforts, by whomsoever made, to bring about and inflame religious animosities because of what has occurred in connection with the Vatican and myself, I can do no more than to refer to the emphatic statements contained in my open letter to Dr. Lyman Abbott, already published.

All that I there said I desire to reiterate with my whole power.

We are glad to be able to add a message, cabled directly to The Outlook by Mr. Lawrence F. Abbott, of its staff, that the "obnoxious statement made by one individual is repudiated by higher Methodist ecclesiastical authorities." The censure deserved thus belongs to an individual rather than to the body of Methodists in Rome. The statement of Mr. Tipple, when one considers the time and the special circumstances, was nothing less than offensive and inflammatory. Nothing is more certain than that Mr. Roosevelt's plans for his visit to Rome were framed especially to avoid friction or dissension, and if the matter had been left to his own judgment and prevision, the incident would not have occurred. But no man in his situation could with self-respect give, on demand, pledges for his future conduct. As the London "Times" says, "Suppose the Vatican had made up its mind to trust to the good sense and right feeling of this great American. Is it imaginable that this trust would have been reposed in him in vain? The whole temperament of the man is proof that it would not." The more that Cardinal Merry del Val and his supporters explain their position, the more evident it is that neither etiquette nor dignity required the Vatican to attempt to extract a promise in advance as to Mr. Roosevelt's conduct. Else-

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where in this number of The Outlook we print some of the echoes from the press in comment on the incident. While a wide difference of opinion exists as regards the relations between the Methodists in Rome and the Vatican, there is almost unanimity in the feeling that Mr. Roosevelt acted with perfect dignity and correctness, and that he did the utmost possible in urging that the matter should not be regarded as a subject of controversy.

SENATOR BEVERIDGE AND THE INDIANA REPUBLICANS

Last week the Republican State Convention of Indiana met at Indianapolis. Its duties were to select a State ticket, with the exception of nominees for Governor and Lieutenant-Governor, and to adopt a platform stating the opinion of Indiana Republicans on State and National issues. On State issues the platform is disappointing, as it entirely omits mention of the dominant issue—local option. On National issues the platform is of far more than State importance. The adoption of this platform was prefaced by an address by the Chairman of the Convention, the Hon. Albert J. Beveridge, senior United States Senator from Indiana. The substance of Mr. Beveridge's speech was a defense of his vote against the Payne Tariff Bill, passed last August. In ringing tones he sent such staccato sentences as these through the hall:

> Like President Taft, I wanted on the free list many raw materials that needed no protection. Yet only one was so treated. I could not stand for the duties on these articles, and I cannot stand for them now.
>
> Like President Taft, I wanted free iron ore, of which we have the greatest deposits on earth, and which the Steel Trust chiefly controls. I could not stand for the duty that was passed, and I cannot stand for it now.
>
> Like President Taft, I wanted the ancient woolen schedule reduced. It gives to the woolen trust unfair control. It raises the price and reduces the weight of the people's clothing. I stood against this schedule when the bill was passed, and I stand against it now.
>
> I could not stand for the duty on lumber when the tariff bill was passed, and I cannot stand for it now.
>
> I could not stand for the obsolete and infamous sugar schedule, which no man in Indiana can read and understand, but which the Sugar Trust can read and understand; yet efforts to change that schedule were opposed by Democratic votes.

Mr. Beveridge declined to vote for the bill. Together with other Insurgents, he made a gallant fight for the lower tariffs. The Outlook applauded the fight, but, when it was closed and the roll called, regretted that the Insurgents could not see their way to voting for the Payne Bill. That measure did not redeem Republican pledges, it is true. But it did something toward redeeming them; it was better to have half or a quarter or even an eighth of a loaf than no bread. For this reason, the President signed the bill. He felt that it was a step, even if a very short, halting, and disappointing step, in the right direction. The President then and since has defended the bill as being all that could be accomplished at the late session of Congress; unfortunately, he has not as often added the statement of his belief that it is but an earnest of a more intelligent and acceptable revision. That revision should follow the principle laid down in the capital tariff plank of the Indiana platform:

> We believe in a protective tariff, measured by the difference between the cost of production here and abroad. Less than this is unjust to American laborers; more is unjust to American consumers. That difference should be ascertained with the utmost speed, and the present law modified accordingly.

The language follows that of the similar plank in the National Republican party platform adopted at Chicago last June. But it significantly omits the phrase "together with a reasonable profit to American industries." This is just. If the difference in cost of production is adequately covered, what other protection is needed? In their desire for revision Mr. Beveridge and Mr. Taft are not as far apart as may be supposed; they are bound by a common sympathy. In particular, both have strenuously favored the tariff-reform method embodied in another plank in the Indiana platform, the nonpartisan tariff commission plank. On that we comment elsewhere.

MR. ROOT ON THE RAILWAY BILL

The speech which Senator Root delivered in the Senate in installments on March 30, 31, and April 1 was a great example of parliamentary

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argument. It was great not only in acuteness of thought and liquid clearness of expression, but also in its fine, persuasive manner and spirit. During the consideration of the Inter-State Commerce Bill, which was the subject of Mr. Root's speech, there has been displayed on the part of Senators no little mutual suspicion, and at times there seems to have prevailed a spirit quite incompatible with an unmixed desire to work out the best possible legislation. On the part of the Regulars there has sometimes seemed to be a disposition to let the bill go through by the mere momentum derived from its introduction as an Administration measure, and to regard all debate upon it as irrelevant and rather naïve. On the other hand, on the part of those Senators who constitute the more aggressive element, there has been apparently a disposition to distrust those in charge of the bill, and to scrutinize its provisions with the expectation of finding "jokers." Senators have not been altogether unwilling to evince signs of entertainment at one another's discomfiture. In the midst of this atmosphere Mr. Root began his speech, and from the beginning he had to bear with the disadvantage of suffering from a cold. That under such circumstances he should have presented a clear exposition of the main provisions of this bill, and even have used the many interruptions to his speech to make his points clearer and more emphatic, is of itself worthy of notice; that he should at the same time have cleared the atmosphere of almost all signs of suspicion, and substituted an air of frankness and conciliation, is scarcely less a triumph. That he was able to do so is due partly to his great self-possession and mastery of the subject in his own mind, but in a scarcely less degree to his ready sense of humor. To a man who has in his own mind a well-ordered conception of his subject and a systematic arrangement of the points which he wishes to make, frequent interruptions can most easily be exasperating and disconcerting. It was not so with Senator Root. More than once he made these very interruptions serve to smooth the path of the debate. For example, after Mr. Root had been interrupted in the course of his remarks by a colloquy with Mr. Bailey and Mr. Bacon, and then, after but a few moments, by another colloquy with Mr. Cummins and Mr. Rayner, he was about to proceed when Mr. Cummins asked, "Mr. President, would it interrupt the Senator too much—" "Not at all," Mr. Root replied; "I am well aware of the rule of the Senate that the only person not entitled to speak is the Senator who has the floor." Again, after he had answered at some length certain points raised by Mr. Bailey, Mr. Root, with a moment's hesitation, continued: "Mr. President, I had almost forgotten that it rests upon me to go on except in response to an external stimulus." And when he concluded his speech he took explicit pains to say with regard to a reference to the frequent interruptions: "I have observed no interruption which did not seem to me to come from an honest and sincere desire to resolve some doubt or to contribute some observation which would be of value to the discussion of the matter before the Senate." And he summed up his opinion of the bill by saying: "It seems to me that the matters as to which we differ, as compared with the great and substantial provisions of the bill and in consideration of the value of those provisions, all come under the head of differences about which it is the duty of legislators to be reasonable and to be willing to make concessions each to the other, in order that the great object may be attained."

MR. ROOT'S OPINIONS ON THE COMMERCE COURT

With regard to this bill, The Outlook, in its issue of March 12, raised certain questions. Concerning these questions The Outlook then said: They "do not affect the intent of the bill as a whole; they suggest possible further amendment, but they should not imperil its passage." We believe it will interest our readers to learn how Mr. Root regards these questions, which have since then been raised in debate, and what answers he makes to them. Regarding the Commerce Court which is established by the bill, and which is designed to hear appeals from the decisions of the Inter-State Commerce Commission, there have been three questions raised. First, is it

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wise to have a special court established for this purpose, in view of the fact that it is likely to be subject to special pressure from the railways? Mr. Root replies that, although he regards this provision establishing such a court as less important than other provisions of the bill, he favors it for two reasons: on the one hand, those charged with the enforcing of the Inter-State Commerce Law believe that the creation of such a court would facilitate their work; and, on the other hand, since the court is charged largely with deciding questions concerning relative rates between different localities, it is wise to make it a central body sitting in Washington instead of a local circuit court which cannot be wholly free from the influences of environment. The second question is this: Does the bill make the jurisdiction of a Commerce Court more extensive than that now exercised by the Circuit Court in these cases, and thus insert into the law that "broad court review" which would virtually nullify the powers of the Inter-State Commerce Commission? Mr. Root does not believe that the language of the bill confers upon the proposed court any larger jurisdiction than now exists, and sees no objection, apart from an unimportant consideration of taste, to putting into the bill a provision distinctly limiting the jurisdiction of the court to that now exercised by the Circuit Courts—that is, virtually, jurisdiction only as to Constitutional questions. The Outlook would go further than Senator Root in urging that such an explicit provision be inserted in the bill. In the latter part of the bill a number of such explanatory provisions are inserted in the interest of the railways; it is certainly fair, then, to insist that a similar provision be inserted in the interest of the public. The third question regarding the Commerce Court concerns that provision which gives to the Attorney-General the sole right to defend before the court the decisions of the Inter-State Commerce Commission, without making any provision for representatives of the shippers, and explicitly excludes the Inter-State Commerce Commission and its attorneys. Mr. Root explains that even under existing law the shipper has no right to appear before the court, but, at the same time, he would favor an amendment to the bill giving authority to the court to hear an attorney of the shippers. Mr. Root regards it as most desirable, in the interest of sound administration, that the Government representative before the court in such cases, as in all cases, should be a representative of the Department of Justice, and believes that, in the light of the history of the Attorney-General's office, the people of the country can trust no one to represent their interests if they cannot trust the Attorney-General. This is virtually his answer to those who question whether the decision for or against defending a finding of the Inter-State Commerce Commission should be left solely to the discretion of the Attorney-General. Inasmuch as later Senator Root himself raises a similar question with regard to leaving a decision finally to the discretion of the Inter-State Commerce Commission, his answer to this question regarding the Attorney-General does not seem to us consistent. We still believe that there should be some means of automatically securing the certainty of an adequate defense of the findings of the Inter-State Commerce Commission against every appeal to the Court of Commerce.

MR. ROOT ON THE OTHER PROVISIONS OF THE BILL

According to the bill, railways will be allowed to enter into agreements regarding rates and classification. Now such agreements are illegal. That such agreements should no longer be illegal is almost everywhere admitted. The very laws which prohibit discrimination make it necessary for railways to enter into agreements. As the bill is drawn now, such agreements may be filed with the Inter-State Commerce Commission. The question, however, has been raised whether such agreements should not be legal only when approved by the Inter-State Commerce Commission. Mr. Root very clearly points out that an agreement between two railways to establish a rate is not the same as the establishment of the rate. The important thing is that the rates themselves should not go into effect until approved by the Commission. Certainly, as Mr. Root also says, it would be manifestly unfair to enact a

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measure under which railway companies could never tell whether their act of agreeing was a violation of law or not until after the subject of their agreement had been passed upon by another body. Mr. Root expressed himself as in favor of an amendment which would make it clear that no agreement until approved by the Inter-State Commerce Commission would be binding upon the railways involved. Regarding the authorization of rates, another question has been raised. As the law is now, rates go into effect immediately upon their establishment by the railway, and can be suspended only on complaint to the Inter-State Commerce Commission. Under the bill now proposed, rates established by railways may be suspended by the Commission on its own initiative, pending investigation, for sixty days. The question has been raised whether those rates ought to go into effect at all until affirmatively approved by the Commission. Mr. Root replies to this question by saying that this amounts to proposing that the Commission have power really to reject what might be a reasonable rate without any hearing at all. We agree that this would be altogether unjust; but we do not see why the provision should not be altered so that the rates would not go into effect for a prescribed number of days unless approved by the Commission, even though there was no positive order of suspension issued. It was to the questions raised regarding Section 12 of the bill, which prohibits one road from leasing or acquiring stock in a competing road, but does not prevent a road which now owns the majority of the stock of the competing road from purchasing the remainder of the stock, that Mr. Root devoted the greater part of his speech. He made it clear, it seems to us, that this provision does not weaken the Anti-Trust Law. Instead of doing that, it preserves the principle of competition more effectually than that law does, because it does not concern itself primarily with intent but with specific acts. He also made it clear that the exceptions noted in this provision do not modify the Anti-Trust Law, but simply modify the prohibitions of this particular bill. If the principle of competition is worth preserving in railway business, this bill is likely to be even more effective than the law under which the Government has proceeded against railway combinations heretofore. Mr. Root's characterization of this bill as a whole is one that ought to be remembered. Unlike the original Inter-State Commerce Bill, and unlike the Roosevelt Railway Rate Regulation Bill, this bill does not so much establish a new principle as apply an already established principle to new conditions. The Outlook is convinced that the bill as a whole is a great step in advance.

THE SALARIES OF FEDERAL JUDGES

Few people need to be convinced that no class of public officers should be more liberally compensated than the judges of our courts. Not only are the class and character of work performed by the judges of the highest rank and such as demand intellectual ability of exceptional force, but in most cases a member of the bar who possesses due qualifications must make a personal sacrifice when he mounts the bench. The disparity between the salary of the judge and the yearly income of a lawyer of the first standing at the bar is almost ludicrous. The need of increase of salary exists in the courts both of the States and the United States. The latter need is that in which the whole country is interested, and the bill introduced into Congress last year which increased the salaries of the United States Supreme Court Judges to $17,500, with $18,000 for the Chief Justice, those of the Circuit Judges to $10,000, and those of the District Judges to $9,000, was favorably reported, but was complicated with amendments increasing other salaries and making appropriations for totally different purposes, and for that reason failed to pass. The subject is now brought up again at the present session of Congress, and it is earnestly hoped that the attention of Members of Congress may be urgently directed to the great interest in this measure throughout the country. Thus, a committee of well-known public men, which has ex-Senator Spooner as its chairman, has found that not only bar associations, but Chambers of Commerce and Boards of Trade throughout the country have cordially indorsed the proposal. Business men

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quickly recognize the interest of the business community in having the Federal judiciary strengthened. It is essential that the very best jurists should deal with the vital political and commercial problems, the magnitude of which increases year by year. The dignity of the bench, no less than its independence, demands that the judges be placed above financial and personal worries. The compensation which may have been adequate ten years ago is less so now, whether it be considered from the point of view of standards of living or of the importance of the judicial labors performed by the Federal judges.

NEGRO SUFFRAGE IN MARYLAND

Once more an attempt is under way in Maryland to deprive the negro of the suffrage. Twice those who have attempted to do this have been defeated. In both cases they tried to restrict the suffrage on race lines by indirect methods. If the first effort had succeeded, the voters of the State would have been delivered into the hands of partisan registrars. If the second had succeeded, a permanent electorate on caste lines would have been established. In both cases, however, the negro as such was not mentioned. Now the Democratic machine in Maryland has undertaken to cast the negro out of the electorate by specific mention. Heretofore such attempts have not been regarded seriously, because the Fifteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution has stood in the way. Now, however, the Digges Bill, which has been passed by the Legislature, and which unqualifiedly denies the right of registration to negroes, attempts to escape the restrictions of this Amendment by confining its provisions to State and municipal elections. The Maryland Secretary of State is quoted as saying that, unless the Fifteenth Amendment is set aside, elections in Maryland would, under this measure, be declared invalid, government would be merely *de facto*, and in the ensuing chaos State and municipal securities would be discredited. It is astonishing that any State Legislature should display either the effrontery or the ignorance necessary for the acceptance of such a measure. The Fifteenth Amendment makes no distinction between Federal and State elections. Even if it did so, no such distinction as the Digges Bill makes would be valid. The only effect that this bill can have will be to discredit the Democratic party at the very time when it has the best opportunity it has had for years to gain adherents. At the same time, the Maryland Legislature passed a primary election law which is a movement toward direct primaries. This law does not abolish the State Convention; but it provides that delegates shall carry with them to the State Convention credentials which shall contain instructions from the voters of the party as to their first, second, third, etc., choice of candidates; and that then in the Convention the votes of the delegates shall be cast according to these instructions. The passage of these two measures is an illustration of the anomalous views on popular self-government and the diverse tendencies that can exist in an American Legislature.

AFTER THREE YEARS

The Brownsville case has given a last expiring gasp. Last week the military court of inquiry, established by Congress to determine which members of the discharged battalion should be eligible to re-enlistment, made its report. The court is unanimous in its opinion that the evidence sustains the charges. It declares fourteen men eligible for re-enlistment. Seven times has this case been investigated. Seven times have the charges against the men of the Twenty-fifth Infantry of "shooting up" the town of Brownsville, Texas, on the night of August 13, 1906, been sustained. For three years and four months Senator Foraker and other self-proclaimed "friends of the negro" have fought against the justice of this decision, now for the seventh time affirmed. The sum total of the results of their efforts has been to exclude from re-enlistment those among the discharged soldiers who could prove themselves innocent. Now at last this re-enlistment, recommended from the first by President Roosevelt, is made possible. But it is not a little surprising, even to those who all along have accepted the verdict of the investigating authorities that the battalion

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was guilty, that so few as fourteen out of a hundred and seventy are entitled to rejoin the army.

A SOCIALIST VICTORY IN MILWAUKEE

A sweeping municipal victory was won in Milwaukee last week by the Social Democratic party. This is not, as has been said, the first time that an American city has elected a Socialist Mayor, but it is the first time that such an event has occurred in so large a place, and the success been won in so complete a manner. The plurality gained by Emil Seidel, the Social Democratic candidate, is the largest plurality ever obtained in Milwaukee by a candidate for the office; his vote was only 5,000 less than the combined votes of his opponents. Twenty-one out of thirty-five members of the Common Council and all the minor city officers chosen were Social Democrats. Various explanations are given for this overturn of both the old parties. Milwaukee has a large number of Germans of Socialistic proclivities; there was dissension in the ranks of both the old parties; the Democratic administration of Mayor Rose has been charged with a "wide-open" policy; many disaffected voters stayed away from the polls; Victor L. Berger, one of the ablest of Socialist speakers and writers, took an active part in the campaign; many of the individual municipal reforms proposed by the Social Democrats were extremely popular. The list of things promised included: home rule for the city, the initiative and referendum, municipal ownership of street railways, the sprinkling of streets by the street railway companies over its various lines, a seat for every passenger in street cars, three-cent street-car fare, cheaper gas, municipal ice plant, municipal light plant, full share of taxes to be paid by corporations, cheaper bread, work for the unemployed at union wages, and an eight-hour day for labor. Some of these proposals cannot be carried out except by action of the State Legislature, which the Socialists do not control. The Socialists themselves attribute their success largely to the violence of their opponents' attacks on Socialism and in particular on Mr. Berger, who was alleged to have said that the working class should use bullets to back up their ballots, and to misrepresentation of the principles of Socialism so extreme as to disgust intelligent workingmen. Mayor-elect Seidel, after his election was announced, said: "I want to see Milwaukee a city where every man can bring up his children in peace and comfort, and make them good citizens and good men and women; where the common man and the rich man may find happiness and the enjoyment of the things which go to make life worth the living."

LOCAL OPTION IN ILLINOIS

In the municipal election in Chicago, which was held on April 5, it was expected that the question of license would be one subject on which the voters should record their will. A few days before election, however, the petition for the presentation of this question was declared invalid. The Board of Election Commissioners grounded their decision invalidating the petition on the allegation that a very large number of signatures were those of persons unqualified to sign. It was asserted, on the one side, that the no-license people had been getting signatures indiscriminately, holding out blanks to be signed by passers-by on the street, and getting names of people who resided at different places from those from which they were registered. On the other hand, it was urged that in such a city as Chicago a great number of people (about one-third) move each year, and that a year had elapsed since the voters had had a chance to register; and that since the law allowed a voter who has changed his residence to swear in his vote, the petition ought not to have been thrown out on account of the discrepancy between the addresses on the petition and the addresses on the register. Judicial and legal authority has been cited in supporting the contention of the no-license forces, but to no avail. Naturally, the license advocates were jubilant at the decision. A great many men, moreover, who were finding other local issues and local candidacies affected by the no-license campaign, were doubtless glad to have this particular issue eliminated. The campaign itself, however, has not been without effect. There is no doubt that the liquor interests were for the time being very much concerned over

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the outcome. In the rest of the State local option was an issue in many communities. The result showed somewhat of a reaction against the anti-saloon tendency of recent years.

RAPID GROWTH OF COMMISSION GOVERNMENT

A notable feature of the past few weeks has been the increase in the number of towns which have adopted the commission form of government. Elections were held in late winter in more than a score of cities, and at the spring municipal elections sixty-eight chose commissioners instead of councilmen as formerly. The Middle West has been most pronounced in its approval of this modern system of government for cities. Kansas leads all the States, with sixteen towns thus managed. Iowa has five, Wisconsin one, Colorado two, North Dakota three, South Dakota four, Oklahoma four, Missouri one, Idaho two. The South is led by Texas, where Galveston and Houston inaugurated the system, with fourteen; Tennessee has five, North Carolina one, Mississippi one. On the Pacific coast, California has three and Washington one. Massachusetts is the only Eastern State now in line; it has five. Buffalo and Mount Vernon, New York, have voted to adopt it, but the Legislature has not yet granted charters under the new form. That the plan is elastic in its operations has been proved by the success attending it in places of such widely diverse population as Des Moines, with 70,000, and Anthony, Kansas, with 2,500. Though villages in New York State are governed by a system not unlike the commission plan, Anthony, Kansas, is the smallest municipality in which commission government has been tried. In that town all the commissioners are Democrats, but all the subordinate employees are Republicans. "We just selected the best men for the places," is the explanation, "and it happened that such was the result." The plan has, in effect, turned the affairs of the place over to the city clerk, who gives all his time to businesslike management, and it is the testimony of leading citizens that there never was so economical and satisfactory government. The fact that in only two per cent of the cities where a vote has been taken has the plan been defeated is indication of the approval of voters. While the new system is yet in its infancy, it has demonstrated that with its "short ballot" and the abolition of political lines it can give voters a better understanding of the candidates, while its directness of responsibility maintains a high level of efficiency. In some of the States the recall section is made to apply only to the larger cities. This should be remedied. The small town should have the right to pass judgment on an unfaithful servant. Because the voters are on neighborly terms with the commissioners is no reason why they should not hold the officers to strict account. It is possible that in the first elections, such as have lately been held in nearly half the towns thus governed, there has been more enthusiastic and definite effort to select capable men than will be made when the plan has become established and politicians have had time to accommodate their plans to new conditions—for we shall always have some politicians to interfere with the people's best interests. Such an attempt to control a commission city government has been defeated in Des Moines. Every safeguard should be placed around the operation of the law to keep partisanship out of municipal affairs, and such amendments should be made as experience shows will add to the efficiency of its operation. With the rapid growth of urban population, both East and West, the public has a right to demand better government than has in the past prevailed. This the commission form is furnishing, and indications are that another year will see more than two hundred cities and towns controlled by the new form.

THE EXPOSURE OF CORRUPTION

One chapter in the investigation of legislative corruption in New York State is closed with the resignation of Senator Conger, which last week followed the plain condemnation of Allds by the New York Senate, as already reported. Mr. Conger and his friends hold that he did a brave and public-spirited thing in giving to the New York "Evening Post" the facts relating to this disgraceful case of bribery; and it certainly should be recognized generally that the "Evening

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Post" has never done a more definite and valuable public service than in its thorough and convincing exposition of the facts, and its persistence in pressing home the subject until action was absolutely unavoidable. It is still to some extent an open question whether the crime committed was more in the nature of extortion and blackmail, as Mr. Conger declares, or more in the nature of an attempt by the bridge companies to secure unfair advantage, which in the end would come out of the pockets of local taxpayers. Probably there is some truth in both theories; under all the circumstances the resignation of Mr. Conger seems to make direct action against him undesirable. It does not, however, make it undesirable to set on foot a complete investigation of the corrupt state of affairs in the New York Legislature, of which this instance is clearly only a single example which almost by accident has been forced into the light. Such an investigation has been urgently recommended by Governor Hughes, and the Legislature should not shrink from it. As to the method of investigation, any plan which should secure Governor Hughes's approval would be acceptable to the people of the State.

THE DIRECT PRIMARY AND A TIMELY EXAMPLE

The direct primary is once more in the open legislative arena in New York State. The Hinman-Green Bill, which was defeated in the last Legislature, was the subject of a public hearing in Albany last week. This bill, it will be remembered, was prepared by a group of progressive legislators with the counsel and approval of Governor Hughes. It was the result of extended and careful study of the provisions and working of direct primary acts in other States. The bill provides that party candidates shall be nominated directly by the registered voters of the party at a primary election managed under conditions exactly similar to those of a regular election. It thus does away with the convention system of making nominations. The names of the proposed candidates are to be put upon the primary ballot as the result of petitions signed by a certain definite number of voters. In these respects the measure is similar to the direct primary acts in other States, but in one important particular it is radically different from them. The central party committee (which is to be selected at the primary in the same way as the party candidates) is to make its suggestions for party candidates, and these selections are to have the first place upon the primary ballot. Its selections must be made a specified length of time before the date set for the nominations by petition, thus giving the voters an opportunity to consider the recommendations of the party committee, and, if they do not approve them, present their own suggestions for consideration at the primary itself. Since the last session of the Legislature a legislative committee has been investigating the subject of direct nominations in other States. Its report was, on the whole, adverse. But at the hearing last week Senator Davenport, a strong supporter of Governor Hughes, who had been appointed a member of the committee, but had declined to serve in view of its palpably biased make-up, presented evidence from several States to indicate that the investigation of the committee had been flagrantly partial and one-sided. At the hearing the bill was supported by representatives of organizations from many parts of the State and was opposed by several individuals. Last week also a political incident afforded the best possible illustration of the conditions which the supporters of direct nominations believe that the direct primary would correct. George W. Aldridge, for twenty years the leader of the Republican party in Monroe County, was unanimously named by a Republican convention in Rochester to succeed the late James Breck Perkins in the House of Representatives. Mr. Aldridge is a representative of the Old Guard in the Republican party in New York State. He is one of the petty local bosses among whom the leadership (if one may dignify it by such a term) of the Republican party in the State has been divided since the passing of the influence of Messrs. Platt and Odell. To the doctrines, the ideas, the methods which these bosses represent are due in great measure the demoralization and degradation of the political life of New York State, which have been graphically

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portrayed in the Allds case and the insurance investigation just being completed by Superintendent Hotchkiss. The political conditions which make possible the unanimous selection of the representative of such a system as the party candidate for Congress, in the face of the present public awakening in the State, are what Governor Hughes and his companions in arms are attacking in their fight for the direct primary. Such an incident shows that nomination by convention is too often nomination by boss or by machine ring. Under a system of direct nominations it is conceivable that the same men might be nominated, but in that case the voters of the party would have only themselves to blame.

THE PROBLEM OF INDUSTRIAL ACCIDENTS

In America, in comparison with the condition in most other civilized countries, the plight of the industrial worker who meets with an accident in the course of his daily work is almost invariably a grievous one. In most States his only recourse for compensation for the suffering and possible maiming involved in the accident itself, and for the deprivation to himself and his family from his enforced idleness, is a damage suit against his employer under the common law. The provisions of the common law, built up by the accretions of years of judge-made principles and precedents, impose an intolerable burden upon the worker. In order to recover damages he must show that the accident resulted from some fault of the employer or his active and responsible agents, and he must prove that he himself did not by any act of negligence contribute in any degree to the cause of the accident, and that he did not accept the risk of accident by knowing that danger existed and nevertheless remaining at his work under the dangerous conditions. In many other countries the principle has been adopted, through definite and strictly drawn statutes, that the burden of industrial accidents shall rest, not upon the worker, but upon the industry—that the cost of repairs to the human machinery injured in the course of industry shall, exactly like the cost of repairs to the material machinery, be a charge upon the business itself. By slow degrees we are awakening in this country to a realization of the inherent justice of such a principle. In New York State, for instance, a legislative commission has been studying the subject for a year, and as a result of its work two bills have just been introduced into the Legislature. The bills do three things. First, they provide for compulsory compensation for accidents in certain dangerous trades, with appeal to the courts only as a last resort. Second, they amend the general employers' liability law (which now hardly goes beyond the principles of the common law) in three important particulars. Third, they provide an optional compensation plan which may be adopted by mutual consent of employer and employees in any industry.

COMPULSORY COMPENSATION IN DANGEROUS TRADES

The dangerous trades in which compulsory compensation is provided for by the commission's bills include bridge-building and other steel construction, tunnel or subway construction, work carried on under compressed air, the construction, operation, or repair of apparatus charged with electric currents, work in proximity to explosives, and railway operation. Workers, in trades coming under these categories, who meet with accidents arising from a necessary and inherent risk of the employment itself or from the failure of the employer or any of his agents to exercise due care or to comply with any law, are entitled to compensation from the employer without suit being brought. The rate of compensation is limited by the bill—the maximum payment in the case of death being three thousand dollars, and the maximum weekly payment in case of injury being one-half of the injured man's average weekly earnings. The employer is not to be liable for any injury which is caused in any degree by the serious and willful misconduct of the workman. The adjustment of the matter of compensation under this act is to be made within the prescribed limits by agreement between employer and employee. In case of dispute, reference must be made to the courts; but it is believed by the framers of the bill that very little litigation will be forthcoming, for the reason that most of

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the matters which under the common law practice give rise to dispute in such cases have been eliminated in the proposed legislation. The bill does not deprive the workman of the right which he now possesses to sue for damages. But he must choose which form of remedy he will avail himself of. If he chooses to sue, he cannot later appeal to the compensation act; if he chooses to come under the compensation act, he cannot sue. The second proposal of the commission is to amend the present Employers' Liability Law. Under this statute as it now stands the employer may set up any one of three common law defenses, which the employee can traverse only with the greatest difficulty. These defenses are involved in the fellow-servant doctrine, the doctrine of contributory negligence, and the assumption-of-risk doctrine. If the employer can show that the workman was injured because of some act of a fellow-workman, the injured man cannot recover; if the employee cannot show that he did not contribute to the cause of the accident by his own negligence, he cannot recover; if the employer can show that the workman, knowing the risk that he ran, still continued to work under the same conditions (thereby under the law assuming the risk from which he ultimately suffered), the injured man cannot recover. The proposed bills modify the fellow-servant doctrine by providing that an injured man can recover if the fellow-servant through whose act he suffers is one, even in the slightest degree, in authority under the employer. It amends the doctrine of contributory negligence by throwing the burden of proof upon the employer. It amends the doctrine of assumption of risk by providing that where there is negligence or fault on the part of the employer, causing a danger in the work which is known to the employer, or which could have been discovered by him under reasonable inspection, the fact that the workman shall continue his work shall not deprive him of compensation.

OPTIONAL COMPENSATION AGREEMENTS

The third proposal of the commission is one for an optional compensation act, to be applicable to any industry. The employer and any of his employees in any trade may contract in writing to avail themselves of the provisions of this act, which are substantially the same as the compulsory compensation act already recorded. When they have so contracted, the employee thereby gives up his right to sue for damages, and can avail himself only of the opportunity for compensation provided by the act. The agreement to continue under this plan may be canceled by either party on sixty days' notice. The provisions of the bills proposed by the commission do not go nearly so far as the liability laws of most European countries. For that reason they will probably be subject to criticism by those radical persons who wish to make reforms sweepingly and in a hurry. But in the United States, and in New York State particularly, there are obstacles to the adoption of radical employers' liability legislation which are difficult to surmount. The first obstacle is the constitutional one. Under the decisions of the New York State courts it is probable that either the English or the German laws would be declared unconstitutional at once. The second obstacle arises from the competition between industries in different States. Placing the burden of industrial accidents on the business itself tends to increase in some degree the cost of production, and where one State should have a stringent compensation law accomplishing this, while another State alongside of it should have no such law, the employers in the first State would undoubtedly feel themselves under a disadvantage. The third obstacle arises from the matter of insurance. Many, if not most, employers now provide for the payment of damages to injured employees by insurance in companies formed for that purpose. The total amount of the premiums paid for this kind of insurance is enormous. In three years nine insurance companies collected premiums to the amount of twenty-three and a half million dollars. The influence of the insurance companies which would be deprived of some of these premiums by drastic liability legislation would probably be strongly against such proposals. In view of these obstacles the commission has felt that it would be better to proceed slowly and gradually, to prepare legislation which

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there would be some strong probability of having enacted, and thereby to introduce the thin edge of a wedge which might later be driven home by the impact of experience and education. In this decision we believe that the commission is eminently right. The proposals which it has embodied in the bills now before the Legislature are excellent. The bills will have a much greater chance of success in the Legislature because of their moderate character than if they sought to accomplish at a stroke all that the friends of industrial justice could wish. And these bills enacted will be of infinitely greater value than the most perfect system that could be devised slumbering in committee or rejected as impractical.

THE PROPOSED GLACIER NATIONAL PARK

In Northwestern Montana, fronting on the Canadian boundary line, lies a tract of mountainous country which it is proposed in a bill now before Congress to turn into a National park. It is not a large tract—from south to north it covers approximately sixty miles. Yet within its limits is comprised the most beautiful portion of the range of the Rocky Mountains lying within the limits of the United States. The range there is narrow. The great grass-covered northern prairies sweep up to within twenty miles of the Continental Divide. There is no intervening mass of foothills to break in upon and tone down the abruptness of the approach. From out on the prairies can be seen, within easy distance, the precipitous crags and the hanging glaciers of a typical Alpine region; and, on the other hand, from the summit of Chief Mountain on a clear morning one may look out on an ocean of prairie in which the Sweet Grass Hills, over a hundred miles away, appear to twinkle in the very foreground. The tract contains also an apex of the continent. In its center rises the Blackfoot Mountain, with the great Blackfoot Glacier, containing almost as much ice as the Gorner Glacier at Zermatt, descending from its eastern slope. The water from this glacier forms the St. Mary's River, which, running northwestward, joins the Saskatchewan and ultimately finds its way into Hudson Bay. Near another slope of the mountain rises Cutbank Creek, flowing southwesterly into the Marias, the Missouri, the Mississippi, and ultimately the Gulf of Mexico; while on the western slope of the mountain is found one of the sources of the Flathead, a tributary of the Columbia, flowing westward into the Pacific. The general trend of the Rocky Mountain range is northwest and southeast. Its northernmost portion approaches comparatively near to the Pacific coast, and the warm, moist winds from the northern Pacific as they strike the cold summits of these mountains deposit their moisture, and have thus produced a country full of glaciers, lakes, and in the lower valleys dense forests. Mr. Gifford Pinchot, who visited the country a number of years ago, at once recognized the importance which its forests and glaciers bear to the future of the State of Montana, recommended it for a forest reserve, and obtained its inclusion in the Flathead Reserve. There is now under way a great project by which it is planned to turn the glacier-fed waters of the St. Mary's River into the channel of the Milk River—a rather feeble and insufficient stream—and thus furnish the means of rendering fertile by irrigation hundreds of square miles of northern Montana. The proposed park would make a wonderful recreation ground for the American people. The summer and autumn climate is cold and bracing. The mountains and glaciers offer the only chance for mountaineering of real Alpine character (except that afforded in the Coast Range and Alaska) to be found within the limits of the United States. The trout of the cold St. Mary's waters fight with a vigor that is seldom seen even in the famous streams of eastern Canada. And the mountains still shelter a sufficient number of our game animals (including our three most splendid species, the mountain sheep and goat and the grizzly bear) to enable the tract to become in time an important game refuge. If by the action of Congress the pending bill becomes a law and the Glacier National Park is established, we shall have added to our system of National parks one which in many features is unlike, and which in its beauty and opportunities for wholesome pleasure will fitly supplement, those which we already have.

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THE SONNINO CABINET FALLS

Baron Sidney Sonnino, the head of the Italian Cabinet which lately resigned, had been in power just a hundred days. By a curious coincidence, this was the exact duration of his Ministry in 1906. The retirement of the present Ministry was due to the realization that the Government's mercantile marine subsidy measure was doomed to defeat. The Ministerial programme provided for a startlingly large subsidy in aid of Italian shipping, and a twenty-five-year subvention to one of the Italian Companies for the transportation of mail. This does not indicate that Italy has abandoned the ship subsidy principle; it means that the sum appalled the people. Baron Sonnino's administration was chiefly distinguished by his abolishment of the censorship of the press. This required no special legislation, having been purely arbitrary. It was based on a provision of the penal code prohibiting the transmission of news contrary to the security of the State. "Security" must have been broadly interpreted if we are to believe the allegation that, under this provision, foreign correspondents have been deterred from telegraphing to their papers the degree of temperature in Italy, when it was remarkably high or exceptionally low, for fear that tourists would be kept away from the country. The abolition of this sort of censorship balances pretty fairly even the unwisdom of a ship subsidy policy. Baron Sonnino's downfall, by a rather capricious vote of the Chamber of Deputies, the lower house of the Italian Parliament, occasioned widespread regret, for he is in every way a statesman and scholar. Fortunately, he is succeeded by another statesman and scholar, Signor Luigi Luzzatti. Signor Luzzatti is sixty-nine years old. He is a graduate of the University of Padua, where for four years he filled the chair of Professor of Law; more recently he has been teaching constitutional law at the University of Rome. When he decided to enter the Government service, he chose the work of the Department of Commerce. His talents were quickly apparent. His rise was rapid, and in 1896 Marquis di Rudiní, as Prime Minister, offered him the very important office of Minister of the Treasury. Signor Luzzatti's two years' tenure was successful. Five years later Premier Giolitti recalled him. In 1906, under Baron Sonnino as Prime Minister, he was again recalled. In the second Sonnino Cabinet, however, Signor Luzzatti was made Minister of Agriculture. This was done, not to cast any slight upon the Minister's record as a financier, but rather to affirm it. Despite the growing importance of our own Department of Agriculture, we Americans hardly realize the importance of the same department in European countries. Especially in Italy, the value of agriculture to national well-being has never been quite appreciated by us. But the spectacle of the hordes of Italian peasants who have come to this country now makes us realize that when agriculture languishes in Italy the emigration evil becomes acute and the Italian national treasury suffers. On its part the Italian Government is doing what it can to develop agriculture, thus aiding not only the bulk of the population but also its own revenue, the greater portion of which comes from the farmers and peasants. Signor Luzzatti has long been solicitous that the peasants should be helped and the revenue increased. To give him opportunity to institute certain reforms, Baron Sonnino made him Minister of Agriculture instead of recalling him to the Treasury. Not only concerning economic questions in Italy, but also concerning those of foreign countries, Signor Luzzatti is known as an authority, as witness his important books and pamphlets. Hence Signor Nathan, Mayor of Rome, in his address of welcome the other evening to Mr. Roosevelt, referred to the new Prime Minister as one of the most distinguished persons present, not only because Signor Luzzatti was head of the Government, but also because he was illustrious in social and political economy.

BORDEN PARKER BOWNE

The sudden passing away of Dr. Bowne on April 1 has touched very many with a keen sense of loss. So constantly fruitful was his activity that even at the age of sixty-three his life seems prematurely ended. His pupils abounded in college and university faculties, and in the pastorates of churches, rural and metropolitan. In the Protestant churches

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throughout the English-speaking world a multitude who never saw him loved him for the mental and spiritual quickening communicated through his diligent pen. A native of New Jersey, a graduate of New York University, a student in modern languages and philosophy at Göttingen, Halle, and Paris, he was appointed in his thirtieth year to the chair of Philosophy in Boston University, which he held till his death. Since 1884, eight years afterward, he had been Dean of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences. Professor Bowne's special province was in the sciences of the mind, often reputed to be dry subjects, but his students found themselves introduced to a garden instead of a herbarium. He was one of those rare teachers who vitalize whatever topic they take up. Incisive, breezy, pithy illustrations, comments, and *obiter dicta* blossomed along his line of strenuous and solid thought. His lectures drew early comers to secure good seats. His class teaching overflowed into numerous books, the taste of any one of which left appetite for more, whether in metaphysics, epistemology, philosophy, psychology, ethics, or theology. No more lucid, keen, and stimulating work upon its subject has been written than his "Principles of Ethics." "Personalism," his latest publication, is a fine specimen of his peculiar skill in clarifying for unpracticed minds the strategic points of a spiritual philosophy. An idealist in philosophy, he made it his concern "to formulate and understand this practical life of ours." An optimist, through his faith in the moral ground of the universe, he was of the sane type that is fully alive to the evils to be fought down. He did not fail to castigate with genial humor, or to brand with burning rebuke, the specimens of "embryonic moral development" that obstruct progress in the church or the commonwealth toward the better social order whose coming he discerned and helped. Virile, earnest, he was a beloved teacher of spiritual realities.

THE NEW ERA OF FISK UNIVERSITY

Agreement of Southern and Northern opinion upon the equal need of the higher education for the white and the negro was amply evidenced at the inauguration, on March 31, of Dr. George A. Gates as President of Fisk University, at Nashville, Tennessee, the oldest and best known of the twenty negro colleges. "I am glad," said Mayor Howse, of Nashville, "that the time has come when the white race is ready to take the colored race by the hand and build it up, educationally and financially. In this Republic we must live for each other under one God and one flag." Addressing President Gates, he said: "President Cravath and President Merrill, your predecessors, have done much for Nashville. You are Nashville's President as well as Fisk's." Speaking for the Nashville Board of Trade, Mr. James Palmer followed him, saying, "We will extend a helping hand to you when you need it." Especially significant was the testimony quoted by President Gates, in his inaugural, from leading jurists of Tennessee, including Judge Lurton, recently made Justice of the Federal Supreme Court: "We hold it our duty to give the negro all the education he can take and use. Then, if we white people cannot keep ahead of him as he moves forward, it will become us to follow after on the level suited to lower capacities." The common interest for which intelligent promoters of industrial and of higher education, sometimes misrepresented as antagonistic, co-operate like scissor blades was effectively demonstrated by Dr. Washington. With the greeting he brought from the Tuskegee Institute he presented from an Alabama benefactor of Tuskegee a gift of a thousand dollars to Fisk. Representatives of some twenty colleges and universities, Northern and Southern, were present, for whom Chancellor Kirkland, of Vanderbilt University, Nashville, spoke with rare elegance of form as well as solidity and breadth of thought. The inimitable feature of the day was the vocal music of the Fisk Jubilee Singers. It was out of the earnings of the Jubilee Singers—over a hundred thousand dollars—that the Jubilee Hall was built on the Fisk campus in 1875. Fisk needs and deserves a generous endowment to crown its history of patient work and sacrifice. The coming of Dr. Gates, a man of broad vision, warm heart, cool head, high courage, and genial humor, with twenty years of successful experience

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as college president in Iowa and California, hopefully initiates a new and prosperous era.

BILLBOARD REFORMS IN MANY CITIES

While our cities still suffer seriously from the billboard evil, the efforts to curtail it continue unabated. Massachusetts men are making another effort this year. So is Chicago. The Supreme Court of Illinois has affirmed the right of the police to censure immoral posters. Montclair women have introduced in that city the idea of refraining from purchasing goods advertised on the billboards. Worcester, Massachusetts, under the leadership of Mayor Logan, is exercising a most rigid oversight. Various federations of Roman Catholic women have entered the field and have been particularly active in Cincinnati. The Cantabridgia, a club of women in Cambridge, Massachusetts, is reported as having resolved not to buy any article advertised at the expense of the town. As a preliminary move in the campaign of moral suasion, circular letters have been sent out to leading advertisers, asking their co-operation in the beautification of the city and in the preservation of such natural beauties as already exist, and thus far the results have been surprisingly favorable. Many business men have agreed without conditions to abandon the billboard method of making their wares known, and some have agreed to join the movement provided others will do so. The San Francisco Real Estate Board has been conducting a determined crusade against billboards, because, in the language of an official, "the practice of placing these signs conspicuously in front of property not only works a dire injury to the property itself but is very unsightly and creates a false impression in the minds of visitors as well as our own citizens. There is an ordinance in force regulating this matter, and it is well that this ordinance will now be strictly enforced." Washington, D. C., has begun an earnest effort to rid the National capital of offensive boards, the Commissioners of the District having agreed last summer to refuse any more permits. It is about time, for the records show that from January 1 to July 15, 1909, permits for billboards on one hundred and eighty-two walls and fifty-six fences had been issued. All the unsightly boards in the neighborhood of the new Union Station have finally been removed and steps taken to secure, if possible, the removal of the signs on the walls. The Corporation Counsel of Seattle has recommended that the Legislature be urged to amend the law giving cities the right to condemn private property for "public uses" in such way as to bring the right to use property for billboard advertising within the eminent domain power of municipalities, thus granting municipalities the power to condemn such rights. Such act, the "Post Intelligencer" points out, would, if sustained by the courts, enable the cities of the State to rid the streets of unsightly signs which now mar them, and they would do it, of course, by instituting condemnation proceedings and by awarding of damages, agreeably to the practice in other cases where property is put to "public use."

$137,000 FOR A HALS

Last week saw high records for single pictures sold at auction in America. "Rockets and Blue Lights," by Turner, brought $129,000, and the "Portrait of a Woman" by Frans Hals brought $137,000. These two canvases were among the treasures owned by the late Charles T. Yerkes, and were sold at auction in New York together with his rugs, tapestries, and other household adornments. Nearly sixty pictures were sold from the Yerkes collection, bringing a total of over a million five hundred thousand dollars. Such an amount is a record in itself. It has never been secured at an auction sale in this country or any other of pictures or other objects of art. Even more interesting than the chronicle of these records is that of the bidders. At other sales bidders have been made up chiefly from American capitalists, collectors, and dealers, and at the Yerkes sale these were present in force. But never before have there been so many European bidders. London, Paris, Berlin, Munich, Cologne, and The Hague were all represented, and were so energetic that the Metropolitan Museum of Art itself was unable to secure any of the works offered. As a result, some

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important pictures, it is said, are going back to Europe, in particular the Turner seascape.

AT THE PARTING OF THE WAYS

The two tendencies in American politics are well indicated by two recent publications, each in its way remarkable: the address delivered by Dr. Woodrow Wilson, of Princeton University, at the "Dollar Dinner" at Elizabeth, New Jersey, the last week in March, and "The Promise of American Life," by Herbert Croly (Macmillan), published at the close of 1909. The one represents the new Jeffersonianism, the other the new Hamiltonianism; the one puts emphasis on the value of the individual, the other on the value of organization. It would be distinctly to the advantage of the country if these two tendencies could early find expression in a definite formulated policy inspired by the spirit of Dr. Wilson's address: "The success of a party is not the thing which should be first in our thoughts, but the service of the country. These signs of changing opinion should not make us eager for office, but eager for an opportunity to see the principles we believe in realized in action."

What are the principles modern democracy believes in or should believe in? It is difficult to compact Dr. Wilson's statement of these principles in a paragraph, but we will make the attempt.

He puts first a profound and abiding faith in the people themselves; an absence of faith in the most conspicuous leaders of the country's business and economic development. Not because of hostility to property rights. Not because of personal distrust of the honor and integrity of the great business leaders. But because the men whose energies are concentrated upon particular enterprises cannot see the welfare of the country as a whole, or in true proportion and perspective. This welfare of the Nation is the welfare of the individuals of whom the Nation is composed. Not the corporation but the individual, not the artificial group of persons existing merely by permission of law, but the single living person, is the only rightful possessor of rights and privileges. The corporation is simply a legal instrumentality created for the convenience of the individual, and must be used only for his convenience, never for his government or suppression. But regulation of these corporations should not be permitted to make them "partners or creatures of the government itself." "Recent proposals of regulation have looked too much like a wholesale invasion by government itself of the field of business management." And this regulation must be accomplished under the law and the Constitution. If our constitutions are not sufficiently elastic and liberal, we must ask the people to change them; we must not change them without their formal consent. So our tariff must not be arranged for the promotion of particular interests, but for the general prosperity of the whole people. Finally, governmental reform lies in the direction of simplicity, not of elaboration. The processes which multiply the instrumentalities of government are to be discouraged rather than encouraged. Our ideals must be more literally and truly than ever before ideals of popular government and of individual privilege.

As is fitting, this address is generic rather than specific, a statement of fundamental principles rather than of special policies. It does not absolutely negative, but it looks away from, government ownership and control of mines and forests, public irrigation, postal savings banks, an elaborate Agricultural Department, a Federal incorporation law, Public Service Commissions, a National Health Bureau, and the like. It does not involve a reversion to the idea that government should confine itself to protection of person and property, but it looks with suspicion on every departure from that principle.

If it is difficult to interpret an hour's address, it is still more difficult to interpret a volume of over four hundred pages, in a paragraph. We can only do so illustratively.

Mr. Croly looks in exactly the opposite direction from Dr. Woodrow Wilson for the fulfillment of America's destiny. In his view, the danger to America is not excessive government but excessive individualism. It is this excessive individualism which has brought about the existing concentration of wealth and financial power in the hands of a few irresponsible indi-

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viduals. We can correct the evil only by changing our attitude. Only by making the individual subordinate to the demand of a dominant and constructive National purpose can America accomplish a morally and socially desirable distribution of wealth. The way to protect the community against the aggression of special and local interests is by affirming and safeguarding the National interests. Democracy is not imperiled by a strong centralized National Government. On the contrary, "a people which becomes more of a Nation becomes for that very reason more of a democracy." The organization of the American democracy into a Nation is not to be regarded as a necessary but hazardous surrender of certain liberties to secure expected advantages. On the contrary, "its nationalized political organization constitutes the proper structure and veritable life of the American democracy." Of this theory of a nationalized democracy Mr. Roosevelt has been a distinguished exponent; but, according to Mr. Croly, not always an adequate or self-consistent one. He "has been building either better than he knew or cares to admit." His famous figure of the "square deal" implies a democracy of individual and balanced rights. But what we want is a democracy which will not be dedicated either to liberty or equality in their abstract expression, but to liberty and equality in so far as they make for human brotherhood; a democracy which will be a candid, patient, and courageous attempt to advance the social problem towards a satisfactory solution. For example: We ought to have a legal recognition of labor unions, "and this legal recognition means, also, substantial discrimination by the State in their favor." "The labor unions deserve to be favored, because they are the most effective machinery which has yet been forged for the economic and social amelioration of the laboring class;" the non-union laborer "is the laborer who has gone astray and who . . . prefers his own individual interest to the joint interests of himself and his fellow-laborers."

We have no space here to follow Mr. Croly further in his analysis. It must suffice to say that he has the courage of his convictions, and applies the principles of organized or nationalized democracy with heroic consistency to the problems of our great corporations, our railways and their regulation, the relations between the States and the Federal Government, and the like, and always in favor of promoting organization and making it the instrument of a social betterment and the social welfare. He disavows being a Socialist, but he is not in the least afraid of the term "Socialistic."

The American Nation is at the parting of the ways. These two leaders, each of whom sees with greater clearness and speaks with greater courage than the newspaper editor or the practical politician usually possesses, lead in opposite directions. Both recognize the peril to the Republic from the special interests. Both desire to secure the general public against that peril. But what one proposes as a remedy the other regards as an aggravation. One would move in the direction of greater individual liberty, the other in the direction of a stronger social organization; one sees peril in a strong National Government, the other accounts it the public safeguard; one regards the individual as the end, the organization as a means, the other regards the organization as an end and would subordinate the individual interests to the interests of the social order; one would promote competition, the other co-operation; the peril of the one philosophy carried to its logical extreme would be anarchy; of the other, political Socialism; the prescription of the one is liberty, of the other is union.

Temperamentally the Democratic party is the party of individual liberty, the Republican the party of social order; but both are affected by past traditions, by local prejudices, by special interests, and by the notions of individual leaders. It would be well for the country if each party could rid itself of the incongruities and inconsistencies with which it is entangled, and could present, with some approximation to clearness and consistency, one the principle of individual liberty under government protection, the other the principle of co-operative action for the common welfare. A great debate between these two principles of National action would be a great education not only for America but for all peoples with democratic institutions or democratic proclivities.

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THE TARIFF BOARD

Last week Indiana Republicans adopted the following admirable plank:

We demand the immediate creation of a genuine, permanent, non-partisan tariff commission, with ample powers and definite duties fixed in the law itself.

This is the proper and logical sequence of the Tariff Board provision of the Payne Law passed last August. That law was, as The Outlook has said, an advanced "step in the line of economic, political, and social reform," not only because President Taft persuaded Congress, in conference between the two houses, to make the tariff schedules of the Payne Bill more radical than either house of Congress had provided, but especially because it provides for four desirable reforms:

(1) Practical free trade with the Philippines.

(2) A corporation tax.

(3) A customs court.

(4) A tariff board.

While Congress declined to provide for the permanent, non-partisan tariff commission which President Taft recommended, for which Senator Beveridge introduced a bill, and which the Indiana Republicans now demand, it did grant seventy-five thousand dollars to the President, at his request, to employ "such persons as may be required" to help him in determining the application of the maximum and minimum tariff. This determination, of course, was a necessary service in connection with the maximum and minimum provision of the Payne Law. To countries whose tariffs do not unduly discriminate against our products the new law grants a minimum tariff, at a lower general level than were the Dingley rates which it replaces; to countries which do unduly discriminate it imposes a maximum tariff of no less than twenty-five per cent *ad valorem* over the minimum.

The fear of the imposition of such a drastic maximum induced many countries to grant concessions. The work of the Tariff Board has been to advise the President regarding the facts and to assist the State Department in negotiating terms of concession, to make clear the character of the concessions granted by our minimum tariff and of those granted in return by foreign countries. Through these concessions, our general tariff relations have been lowered so that now from fifty to sixty per cent of our products are admitted free to foreign countries, while, of our products paying a duty there, nine-tenths now pay no more than the minimum.

Many Congressmen say that this is the only work which the Tariff Board was asked to do.

But Mr. Taft's main reason for urging the creation of a Tariff Board was not to help him in determining the application of the maximum tariff; it was to help him concerning the tariff in general, by finding facts—so that when enough accumulate to justify Executive recommendations as to any particular schedule or as to the tariff as a whole, he would be able to refer to this impartial and accurate evidence as having been officially collected, and not gathered, as Congress has hitherto gathered it, with reference to a particular issue or a particular rate. Concerning this the President said in his December Message to Congress: "I believe that the work of this Board will be of prime utility and importance whenever Congress shall deem it wise again to readjust the customs duties. If the facts secured by the Tariff Board are of such a character as to show generally that the rates of duty imposed by the present tariff law are excessive, I shall not hesitate to invite the attention of Congress to this fact."

Though the conservatives in Congress had no intention of granting the Board powers thus outlined, they had all unwittingly provided the President, and he has, we are glad to say, wittingly provided the country, with working machinery for another and more thorough tariff revision.

That duty and labor will comprise the second chapter in the Tariff Board's history. Fortunately, it has not been necessary to close the first chapter before beginning the second. More work has already been done in writing that second chapter than is generally surmised. But much remains to be done. It will require very many agents, working under the direction of the three members of the Board. As Professor Emery, the chairman, says in the letter addressed by the Board to the President, at the latter's request, and printed with his Message to

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Congress, it is proposed to employ "special experts for special investigation;" moreover, these experts must be "of the very first order and of long experience in the practical study of particular industries" in order to "carry on the investigation of trade conditions and the cost of production in this country and abroad."

This work will cost at least a quarter of a million dollars. The President asks Congress for this amount. Will Congress refuse? Congress does not love the Tariff Board. Congress much prefers the statistics gathered by the majority members of its Senate Finance Committee and its House Ways and Means Committee, and not scientifically gathered, as are those of the present non-partisan Tariff Board. The first impulse of Congress, then, we surmise, will be to refuse to grant the appropriation.

The second impulse of Congress will also be to refuse to grant the appropriation because it does not want to disturb the normal and orderly course of business by a new tariff agitation.

But the agitation is already here! The Indiana Convention, the Massachusetts and Missouri by-elections, show it. The agitation is likely to be re-echoed in other conventions and elections. So far from being checked because we have passed a new tariff bill, the country justly regards that bill as but a bridge to a more liberal tariff. President Taft so regards it. His appeal to Congress to provide funds for the Tariff Board's work is therefore ultimately an appeal to Congress to provide the means for a further revision of the recently revised rates. Moreover, he demands, and the country demands, that the new tariff shall be scientifically and not politically constructed.

If Republican Representatives will not enact such a tariff, carrying out their pledge to lower the rates to a measure of the difference in the cost of production in America and abroad, the people, we believe, will replace those Republican Representatives next autumn by Democrats. Many observers think that the Democrats will have a majority in the House. If so, they will pass a radical tariff bill. For party reasons such a bill would almost certainly be defeated by a Republican Senate. Tariff reform, therefore, can only be enacted in legislation through the control of both houses of Congress by one political party. Hope for present tariff reform lies in a reformed Republican party. To vote against the President's recommendation of an appropriation to continue the Tariff Board's work is to vote for the continuance of a tariff composed by political bargaining between special interests. To vote for the appropriation is to vote for a tariff based on adequate, impartial, and scientific investigation and information.

DISCREDITED WITNESSES

Sitting before an open fire in a private library not long ago, a man of distinction, whose artistic skill is matched by a conscience as sensitive and exacting, told the story of his escape from hard and narrow conditions, his education by a series of apparently casual contacts with trained artists, his final success and personal happiness coming like a sudden burst of sunlight through dense clouds; adding, half to himself, "What a fairy story!" It was more wonderful than any fairy tale, for it was a chapter out of the great adventure of life. From the earliest times men have been trying to dramatize this adventure in all manner of legends, myths, dramas, and stories. However hard their conditions, something within them has always borne witness to a great destiny; and in their worst estate of degradation and misery there has been a mystery about them, as of heirs of a kingdom become for the moment tenders of swine.

It is true, there have always been those who insisted that the herding of swine, the heartbreaking toil in the field, the wretchedness and hunger, are the whole of life, and that the dreams of happiness which make the night tolerable are mere fancies of visionary minds. "Away with such anodynes!" they have said; "let us be men and face the facts." And in every time there have been those who succumbed to the blight of this teaching and have eaten their hearts out in bitterness of despair, or wasted their fortunes in a vain attempt to make a sleeping potion of pleasure and drown their misery in unconsciousness.

But there have been those also who

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have rejected this teaching because it was not the doctrine of men and because it did not face the facts, and have committed their hearts to the keeping of their highest visions; not because their visions were beautiful or comforting, but because they made life explicable by bringing into view the truth within as well as the truth without the soul; because they have accepted the reality of the mind as well as of the brain, of the affections as well as of the passions, of the intuitions as well as of the instincts, of the imagination as well as of the eye.

These believers in visions, moreover, have refused to accept all witnesses as of equal credibility in the court of reason; and have insisted on an examination of the credentials of those who came to testify concerning the facts of life. They have applied the test of character and have challenged those whose record has given ground for suspicion of their competency and veracity. Shall the evidence of the lawless be counted of equal authority with that of those who hold themselves obedient to the law? Shall the report of the drunkard count with that of the clear-eyed man of integrity? Shall the man of ungovernable passions have equal weight with the man who rules himself? Shall he who sinks to the animal speak with the authority of him who rises to the saint and hero? Shall the liar and thief and sensualist have the weight of the truthful, the honorable, the pure in heart?

In the great court in which life is on trial these witnesses are incompetent. Their testimony often has the thrilling interest of tragedy, the beauty of delicate art, the impressiveness of ruined greatness; it is profoundly interesting and significant as throwing light on the reactions of lawlessness on mind and body, on morbid conditions of psychology, on diseases of mind and soul; but it has no weight in interpreting the facts of life and penetrating to the meaning of the vast order of things by which men are surrounded. Only the sound in body and mind, the clear-eyed, those to whom obedience to the law of life has brought the knowledge of life, are entitled to credence in the court where life is on trial, the judgment place where its nature and meaning are demanded and must be revealed.

In that august place only the sane have a right to be heard; but it is a pathetic and significant fact that the insane crowd the place of judgment and pour out their woes as if they were the sorrows of mankind instead of the misery they have brought on themselves; as if the uncovering of disease in their own minds and bodies were the uncovering of the health of the race.

Only those protest against the injustice of the moral order of life who have never obeyed it and do not know what wonders of strength and peace are wrought in the hearts of men by obedience. They bare their self-inflicted wounds and say, "Behold the blows of fate!" They dramatize the tragedies of sin of which they have made themselves the victims, and cry aloud, "Behold the misery of the world!" They tell appalling stories of their defeated hopes, their ruined careers, their blighted genius, and say, "This is life."

Is it? Is the beauty of love and self-sacrifice and purity to be found behind prison bars? Are the clear insights, the penetrating glimpses, the far-ranging visions of the possibilities of the human spirit to be sought in the places where the insane are protected from themselves? Many things are to be learned among criminals and the insane; they witness to the inevitableness of the punishment that follows swift-footed on the broken law. But of the vast order which lies behind the law and is protected by it nothing is to be learned in these places of restraint or punishment. The lawbreaker of genius can make an awful picture of the misery that follows the doing of evil; but he has no power to depict the sweetness of purity, the peace of integrity, the joy of love. The destroyers of life know nothing of the exceeding great rewards of life. They fill the air with their outcries and protests, and many are imposed upon by the volume of sound that comes from them; but if they were multiplied a thousandfold, they would still be impotent witnesses to the nature and meaning of life, because they have disqualified themselves from understanding it. They are the witnesses to the tragedy of blinding the eyes and stopping the ears in a world of great visions and noble harmonies.

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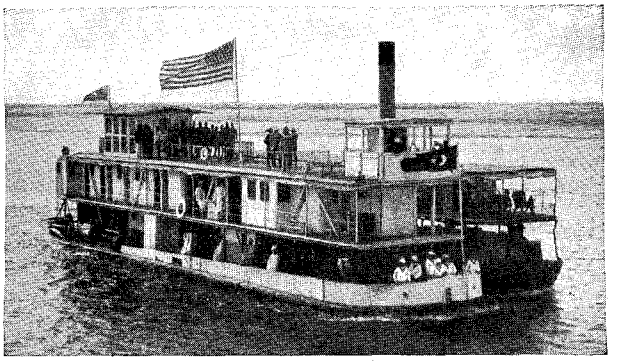
Mr. Roosevelt at Khartum



THE "DAL" ARRIVING AT KHARTUM ON MARCH 14

MR. ROOSEVELT AT THE EGYPTIAN OFFICERS' CLUB, KHARTUM

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MR. AND MRS. ROOSEVELT ARRIVING AT THE EGYPTIAN OFFICERS' CLUB, KHARTUM

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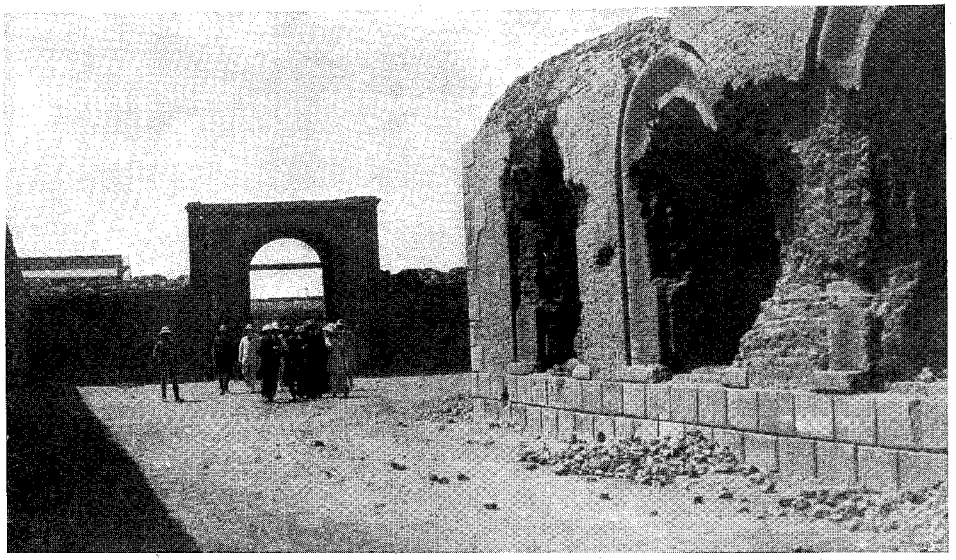
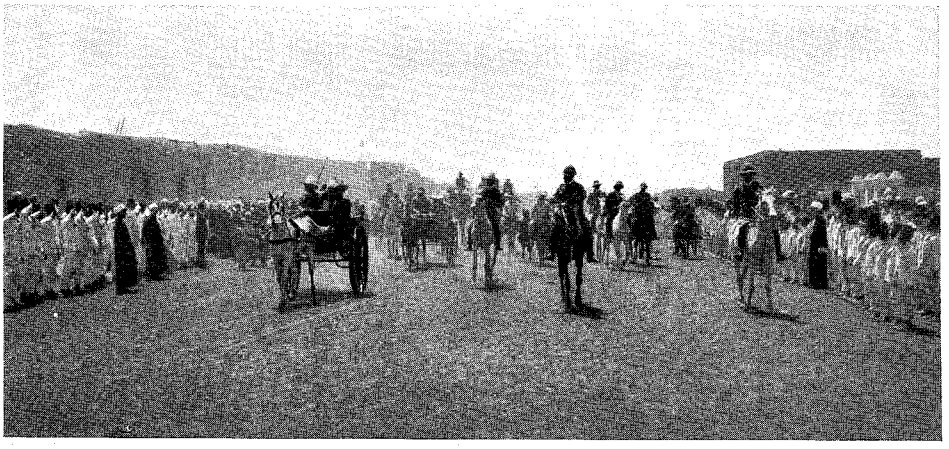
ON MOUNT SURGAM. GENERAL SLATIN GIVING A SHORT HISTORY OF THE BATTLE OF OMDURMAN



AT THE MAHDI'S TOMB, OMDURMAN



MR. ROOSEVELT WELCOMED BY THE STUDENTS AT OMDURMAN

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AT THE GYMKHANA. MAJOR C. E. WILSON, GOVERNOR OF KHARTUM, SEATED AT MR. ROOSEVELT'S LEFT. GENERAL SLATIN AT HIS RIGHT

MR. ROOSEVELT TALKING TO THE MESSENGERS OF ALI DINAR, THE SULTAN OF DARFUR

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PEACE AND JUSTICE IN THE SUDAN[1]

BY THEODORE ROOSEVELT

AN ADDRESS AT THE AMERICAN MISSION IN KHARTUM, MARCH 16, 1910

I HAVE long wished to visit the Sudan. I doubt whether in any other region of the earth there is to be seen a more striking instance of the progress, the genuine progress, made by the substitution of civilization for savagery than what we have seen in the Sudan for the past twelve years. I feel that you, here, owe a peculiar duty to the Government under which you live—a peculiar duty in the direction of doing your full worth to make the present conditions perpetual. It is incumbent on every decent citizen of the Sudan to uphold the present order of things; to see that there is no relapse; to see that the reign of peace and justice continues. But you here have that duty resting upon you to a peculiar degree, and your best efforts must be given in all honor, and as a matter, not merely of obligation, but as a matter of pride on your part, towards the perpetuation of the condition of things that has made this progress possible, of the Government as it now stands—as you represent it, Slatin Pasha.

I am exceedingly pleased to see here officers of the army, and you have, of course, your oath. You are bound by every tie of loyalty, military and civil, to work to the end I have named. But, after all, you are not bound any more than you are, you civilians. And, another thing, don't think for a moment that when I say that you are bound to uphold the Government I mean that you are bound to try to get an office under it. On the contrary, I trust, Dr. Giffen, that the work done here by you, done by the different educational institutions with which you are connected or with which you are affiliated, will always be done, bearing in mind the fact that the very most useful citizen to the Government may be a man who under no consideration would hold any position connected with the Government. I do not want to see any missionary college carry on its educational scheme primarily with a view of turning out Government officials. On the contrary, I want to see the average graduate prepared to do his work in some capacity in civil life, without any regard to any aid whatever received from or any salary drawn from the Government. If a man is a good engineer, a good mechanic, a good agriculturist, if he is trained so that he becomes a real good merchant, he is being the best type of citizen. It is a misfortune in any country, American, European, or African, to have the idea grow that the average educated man must find his career only in the Government service. I hope to see good and valuable servants of the Government in the military branch and in the civil branch turned out by this and similar educational institutions; but, if the conditions are healthy, those Government servants, civil or military, will never be more than a small fraction of the graduates, and the prime end and prime object of an educational institution should be to turn out men who will be able to shift for themselves, to help themselves, and to help others, fully independent of all matters connected with the Government. I feel very strongly on this subject, and I feel it just as strong in America as I do here.

Another thing, gentlemen, and now I want to speak to you for a moment from the religious standpoint, to speak to you in connection with the work of this mission. I wish I could make every member of a Christian church feel that just in so far as he spends his time in quarreling with other Christians of other churches he is helping to discredit Christianity in the eyes of the world. Avoid as you would the plague those who seek to embroil you in conflict, one Christian sect with another. Not only does what I am about to say apply to the

[1] The American Mission at Khartum is under the auspices of the United Presbyterian Church of America. The Rev. Dr. John Giffen introduced Mr. Roosevelt to the assembly. The address has been sent to The Outlook by Mr. Lawrence F. Abbott, President of the Outlook Company, who met Mr. Roosevelt at Khartum.—THE EDITORS.

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behavior of Christians towards one another, but of all Christians towards their non-Christian brethren, towards their fellow-citizens of another creed. You can do most for the colleges from which you come, you can do most for the creed which you profess, by doing your work in the position to which you have been called in a way that brings the respect of your fellow-men to you, and therefore to those for whom you stand. Let it be a matter of pride with the Christian in the army that in the time of danger no man is nearer that danger than he is. Let it be a matter of pride to the officer whose duty it is to fight that no man, when the country calls on him to fight, fights better than he does. That is how you can do more for Christianity, for the name of Christians, you who are in the army. Let the man in a civil governmental position so bear himself that it shall be acceptable as axiomatic that when you have a Christian, a graduate of a missionary school, in a public office, the efficiency and honesty of that office are guaranteed. That is the kind of Christianity that counts in a public official, that counts in the military official—the Christianity that makes him do his duty in war, or makes him do his duty in peace. And you—who I hope will be the great majority—who are not in Government service, can conduct yourselves so that your neighbors shall have every respect for your courage, your honesty, your good faith, shall have implicit trust that you will deal religiously with your brother as man to man, whether it be in business or whether it be in connection with your relations to the community as a whole. The man I want to see is a Christian who is a graduate of a Christian school, who shows his creed practically by the way he behaves towards his wife and towards his children, towards his neighbor, towards those with whom he deals in the business world, and towards the city and Government. In no way can he do as much for the institution that trains him, in no way can he do as much to bring respect and regard to the creed that he professes. And, remember, you need more than one quality. I have spoken of courage; it is, of course, the first virtue of the soldier, but every one of you who is worth his salt must have it in him too. Don't forget that the good man who is afraid is only a handicap to his fellows who are striving for what is best. I want to see each Christian cultivate the manly virtues; each to be able to hold his own in the country, but in a broil not thrusting himself forward. Avoid quarreling wherever you can. Make it evident that the other man wants to avoid quarreling with you too.

One closing word. Don't make the mistake, those of you who are young men, of thinking that when you get out of school or college your education stops. On the contrary, it is only about half begun. Now, I am fifty years old, and if I had stopped learning, if I felt now that I had stopped learning, had stopped trying to better myself, I feel that my usefulness to the community would be pretty near at an end. And I want each of you, as he leaves college, not to feel, "Now I have had my education, I can afford to vegetate." I want you to feel, "I have been given a great opportunity of laying deep the foundations for a ripe education, and while going on with my work I am going to keep training myself, educating myself, so that year by year, decade by decade, instead of standing still I shall go forward, and grow constantly fitter, and do good work and better work."

I visited, many years ago, the College at Beyrut. I have known at first hand what excellent work was being done there. Unfortunately, owing to my very limited time, it is not going to be possible for me to stop at the College at Assiut, which has done such admirable work in Egypt and here in the Sudan, whose graduates I meet in all kinds of occupations wherever I stop. I am proud, as an American, Dr. Giffen, of what has been done by men like you, like Mr. Young, like the other Americans who have been here, and I want to say still further by the women who have come with them. I always thought that the American was a pretty good fellow. I think his wife is still better, and, great though my respect for the man from America has been, my respect for the woman has been greater.

I stopped a few days ago at the little mission at the Sobat. One of the things that struck me there was what was being accomplished by the medical side of that

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mission. From one hundred and twenty-five miles around there were patients who had come in to be attended to by the doctors in the Mission. There were about thirty patients who were under the charge of the surgeon, the doctor, at that Mission. I do not know a better type of missionary than the doctor who comes out here and does his work well and gives his whole heart. He is doing practical work of the very most valuable type for civilization, and for bringing the people of the country up to a realization of the standards that you are trying to set. You make it evident to a man that, if you are sincerely concerned in bettering his body, he will be much more ready to believe that you are trying to better his soul.

Now, gentlemen, it has been a great pleasure to see you. When I get back to the United States, this meeting is one of the things I shall have to tell to my people at home, so that I may tell them what is being done in this country. I wish you well with all my heart, and I thank you for having received me to-day.

THE NEW LIFE ON THE FARM

BY CHARLES MOREAU HARGER

HAVE you been out on a modern farm lately—not a fancy country place owned by a millionaire who farms as a pastime, but on a real farm whose owner must earn bread and butter for himself and his family from the products of his fields?

Perhaps you once lived on a farm, and you recall the cumbersome implements and the vast amount of hand labor. You know in a general way, of course, that many things have been invented to make the work of crop-raising easier; but that is only a part of the farmer's new advantage.

"How much did you make last year?" you ask of the modern farmer.

"Let me look at my books—"

So he keeps books! In the corner of the living-room is a roll-top desk. He has a set of accounts by which he knows just what crops, what animals, and what methods of selling are profitable and what entail a loss.

One day he decides to have a sale—a "public vendue" you used to term it. He takes the "copy" for his advertising to the newspaper office—it is typewritten. So there is a typewriter, too! He has farm stationery, with a name for the farm in the upper right-hand corner—perhaps a picture of his house beneath it. In the left-hand upper corner of the sheets on which is written the list of articles the printer notes something like this: "Franklin Mason, Proprietor, R. F. D. 9."

That means he is a business man, too. the real secret of the modern farmer's success. He indulges no more in speculation and guesswork, but follows a system.

Who has taught it to him? Principally the younger generation, the hundreds of graduates of agricultural colleges, who take out to the older farmers ideas and plans that mean greater profits, less labor, and more comfort. They substitute for the windmill a gasoline engine; they attach to the power a feed-grinder, a milking machine, and a waterworks system that makes bath-rooms and modern laundries possible. They fit the house with a furnace and light it with gas. They plan intensive agriculture, balanced nutrition, and economic breeding. A whole new chapter of history has been opened in the fields.

Take the average farmer who twenty years ago started on a Western homestead. Think of the things he did not know. His plans were limited largely to the putting in of two crops—wheat and corn—and he did not understand all the methods of doing that. He followed the system of his father before him, and trusted to fortune. If he harvested a crop, he took the money and paid his debts. If he did not, he increased his mortgage and tried again. He had no resource that was certain to turn in enough on which to support his family.

To-day he has wheat and corn as before, but he reads in the bulletins of the Agricultural Department and of the State Agricultural College what are the best

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times to plant, what the best seed, and how best to prepare the ground. College-bred wheat increased the yield of Kansas fields 4,000,000 bushels last year, worth $4,000,000 at market price.

Over on the creek bottom he has a field of alfalfa—twenty years ago alfalfa had not been heard of by the average farmer. He cuts from it three or four crops a year. Then he threshes the seed from the last crop and sells it at $7 a bushel.

His cows pay a regular sum into his bank account monthly. It may be only $15, or it may be $30, on the 20th of the month—but it adds to his ability to buy groceries and clothing, and he can plan ahead with surety that he will have that much in cash and need not wait a year for his money to come in a lump, if indeed it comes at all. That makes farming a business.

Then there are the relations toward the outside world. It is a new application of business methods to the farm.

Last summer a company of college boys from Indiana went out into central Kansas to help harvest the wheat. They worked well, and added a touch of cheer to the evening gatherings around the big red barn. To be sure, they insisted on telephoning to town every evening to learn the baseball scores of the day, chalking the records on the side of the barn for reference and discussion, and they were a bit finicky about wearing their coats at table when the housewife was present. But the farmer liked them, and it was with some pleasure that on the last Saturday he handed to each a check on the Farmers' State Bank, in which he was a stockholder.

A little dubiously they looked at the pieces of blue paper.

"What shall we do with them?" asked one.

"Why, go to the bank and get your money."

"But who will identify us?"

The farmer saw the point, and collected the checks, which he tore to bits. He hurried to town and came back with a roll of bills, with which he paid off the men. He had become so accustomed to issuing checks for all the transactions of the farm that he did not realize the position of these strangers.

The average farmer comes into the newspaper office to pay his subscription. He takes out a check-book and, though the sum is only a dollar, it is paid through the bank. Where ten farmers had bank accounts two decades ago, a hundred do to-day. They have learned the value of modern methods of finance. This makes them better managers; it keeps in order their business affairs, which the old-fashioned ways never did.

Much has been written of the farmer's motor car. He possesses it exactly as he did a rubber-tired surrey before it, and a spring wagon before that, because it is the need of the hour for his transportation—and because he is able to purchase one at the moderate prices that now prevail for serviceable machines.

But the motor car means less to the farmer than some new implements that are coming into use on the modern farm. If you lived on a farm as a boy, you probably worked at the business end of a straw-carrier during threshing time. You remember the long hours in dust and straw that nearly suffocated and drowned you. Now there is nothing of the kind. The straw is stacked by the directions of a man who manipulates a long tube through which a strong current of air forces the straw—"wind-stacker" they call it. You also helped carry bushel measures of grain from the separator to the wagons, marking the record as you toiled. Now the wheat is weighed and measured as it runs through a pipe from the machine and pours in a ruddy stream into the wagon. It takes less help to do the work than ever before.

Or you followed the plow up and down the field, stubbing your toes and growing exasperated when the horses, fly-tormented, tangled themselves in the reins and traces.

"Plowing is always hard work for the horses," you remark to the farmer.

"Oh, we don't use horses now," is the reply, if you are on a thoroughly advanced place. He takes you to the field, where is progressing a queer, misshapen, puffing machine behind which trail various attachments—something like a stranded airship. It is the modern ground-preparer—for it is more than a plow.

The foremost portion of the implement

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is a gasoline or steam engine on big, broad wheels. Its driver has about as difficult a task as the careful chauffeur on a city street. Behind are four, six, or eight plows, each turning over a chocolate furrow as clean and neat as the best plowman could do it. Yet behind that comes a series of wheels and teeth that smooths and presses the broken ground, these plows and harrows being guided by another man, who rides at the rear of them. When the machine has passed, the earth is plowed and pulverized, ready for seeding. It makes a business of even the prosaic process of plowing—robbing it of its poetry, perhaps, but lessening the cost and saving horse-flesh.

It will be but a few years when, with the motor truck, the motor car, and the motor implements, horses will be needed on the farm only for emergencies and for doing the work in small fields where it is difficult to handle the large machines.

What does this mean to the farmer's family?

The boy who formerly spent three hours in the morning and three more in the evening milking cows—no pleasant job in summer-time, and not much better in winter—now with a milking-machine saves two-thirds of the time and is able to enjoy a little leisure. He can go to town or visit with the neighboring boys. He feels that he is a business man and not a toiler without hope of relief.

"I knew I could make money with a dairy herd," one farmer expressed it, "but I could not put my boys at the drudgery. It meant that they would not have time even to go to church. Now they can enjoy a little of life, and I think they will stay with me."

That is what the farmer seeks—help from his boys—and when they hurry to town it means that he must go too. If they can be induced to think of farming as a business, there is hope of keeping them.

And the farmer's wife and daughters—something is lifted from their shoulders by the new era. The early settlers of the West, and even some within twenty years, were exemplars of the old way of doing things. Said a housewife who went through the homestead era:

"For years I washed at a tub as my grandmother did, and my back is yet bent with the exertion of those days. Now the washing is done by a machine run by an engine at the barn. I churned in an old wooden churn—how many hot mornings I lifted that old dasher! Now the separator takes the butter-fat from the milk before it comes to the house. What butter-making we do is in a barrel churn, turned by the same engine. I ironed with the old-fashioned iron heated on a scorching stove that made the kitchen like an oven. Now I have an ingenious gas-heated flat-iron and my ironing-room is in the screened back porch, where there is breeze and comfort. Then we went to town once a week in a lumber wagon; now we go almost every evening if it is pleasant, and cover the distance, ten miles, in half an hour in a motor car. No, I cannot keep domestic help on the farm; but neither can many of my friends in town. However, I have a chance to care for my work without being a slave, and that is something I never did before." In some instances the family reads by electric light and sews by electric power generated on the farm.

Along with this the farmer takes an interest in the business affairs of the community. He has put some of his savings in the bank, and so is brought into touch with the other prosperous farmers of the township. He has an interest in the mill, is one of the proprietors of the co-operative store, and is a part owner of the Farmers' Elevator Company, hundreds of these companies now being scattered over the agricultural States. The elevator companies handle the farmer's grain and teach him the broader features of transportation and trade, leading him out into a wider view of business. He has dropped his isolation and become a factor in the industrial and financial life of to-day.

Where of old he spent the long evenings brooding over fancied wrongs and came to believe himself a victim of machinations and of circumstances, now he goes out and helps to manage and is a part of the industrial world.

Farms west of the Mississippi River that sold seven years ago for $40 an acre are now worth twice or thrice that sum. Why? They do not raise larger crops, they are no nearer to town, they have no richer soil. The owner of one, who has

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seen the value of his homestead of a quarter-section (160 acres) enhance from $1.25 an acre to $16,000, put it in a nutshell when he said:

"It is the increase of comfort and of convenience that makes it worth more. When I can talk to every other farmer, every merchant, and every buyer of my products over the telephone, when I can get the news of the world by carrier every morning, when I can save enough time out of the day to give me opportunity to enjoy the things that folks in town enjoy, it makes my farm worth more as a home, and that value has increased more than the value of the products I can sell."

"But you still rise at five o'clock in the morning?"

"Well, the habits of the farmer do not change so easily; but I notice that my young folks do not get up as early as I did when I was young, and if we get things a little better systematized, I expect that it will not be long before the eight-hour day will be the rule on the farm as well as in the factory."

That may be long years coming, but as the farmer's work is accomplished in less time, it will be either that or he will have more leisure than he ever has had since the first tiller of the soil awaited sun and rain.

AFTER THE VERDICT

BY ISABEL C. BARROWS

THE world outside of Russia drew a long breath when the message came that Tchaikovsky was acquitted. We were almost as rejoiced at the escape of Babushka [Madame Breshkovsky is called by this familiar term—"little grandmother"], for, terrible as is exile, and frightful as is the long journey, yet exile was preferable to hard labor in the frightful prisons of Russia. Acquittal for her was impossible under the circumstances, and those who loved her at once began to make plans to lessen the rigors of exile, if that can be done. Like the heroine that she is, she declined any mitigation of her fate, since she asks not freedom for herself but for all who suffer injustice. She will accept succor only if she may share it as she pleases with her fellow-victims. With this object a sum of several hundreds of dollars has been collected that will be sent as permission is given and safe ways of forwarding it found.

In the meantime the writer has just received from Mr. Tchaikovsky the first account of the trial which he has sent to this country, and, as it bears messages for his American friends who have stood by him so faithfully, a part of the letter at least must be shared with the public. The letter is dated St. Petersburg, immediately after the trial. He says:

"Hearty thanks for letter and cablegram. We saw your old friend, shook her firm hands and kissed her cheeks. She is as firm and brave as ever, though her strong body begins to give way under the pressure of age and circumstances. She is not so erect as in former times. She was delighted to see Mrs. Tchaikovsky and my daughter, as well as the crowd of correspondents, and kissed them all. She wanted particularly to be remembered to Miss Alice Blackwell and yourself, and said, 'Tell them I love them—I love them all.' It was a matter of only two or three minutes between the verdict and the guards surrounding her.

"The verdict was a surprise to her as well as to the lawyers and ourselves. Her case was particularly hopeless, and she was ready to die in the course of the next two years if sentenced to imprisonment with hard labor. (She is sixty-eight, and the law permits hard labor only until the age of seventy.)

"The trial lasted two days, and both those days I sat with her on the same bench, guards with drawn swords on both sides of us. In the intervals of the sessions I was allowed to leave the box and go out of the room to my dear ones. The lawyers behaved splendidly, having left not a single stone unturned. The foreign press was fine, watching the case from

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hour to hour outside the court-room, while the Russian press was absent.

"When my companion was asked what was her profession, she said, quietly but firmly, 'propagandist of Socialist ideas.' In the course of the proceedings she made several remarks as to the facts, correcting the statements of the indictment and denying the lying assertions of the witnesses, but always admitting her participation in the work of The Party with an air of quiet dignity and epic greatness.

"My case, of course, was different; having lived for years abroad, my connection with the party was of a superficial nature, and conscientiously I could not undertake responsibility for its doings. As the case for the prosecution was exceedingly weak, it fell through, and helped my colleague to be saved also. As a matter of fact, I had been tied up with her that both might be drowned together, but, as it happened, I swam out and helped her to reach the bank also. This had been always my distant and dim hope.

"The doors of the court were closed three days before the trial by order of the prefect. The powerful influences that were interested in opening the doors failed to alter this decision. As far as we know, the pretext of a possible demonstration from the public, in case of open doors, was groundless. To my mind the numerous appeals for a fair trial and open doors from various countries had something to do with this decision. My daughter's exclusion was merely a natural and logical sequel to the wish to snub foreigners. On the other hand, irritation of friendly neighbors being very undesirable for more than one powerful reason, a mild verdict became a necessity. We profited by these contradictory circumstances, and apparently gained a victory over the dark forces of reaction. So much the better.

"The central figure of the whole trial was that of the notorious perjurer Pateyuk, who was put up as a direct eye-witness by the political police. Imagine a slim, tall figure in black, with a pale, thin face, a man of twenty-five, his legs in fetters, his head bent forward, casting angry dark looks from under his brows, like a hungry chased wolf, while vomiting forth his calumnies and stinging lies.

"This was the only witness whom they dared to bring before the court. He repeated his former evidence, but, being anxious to inflict still greater injury, he could not help adding something fresh: 'According to my knowledge,' he said, 'Tchaikovsky organized bands of robbers in Russia, remaining himself abroad to import arms through Finland for Russian revolutionists!' This quite new and sweeping statement had never been mentioned before, and naturally destroyed any confidence in this witness which the court might have had. Moreover, the defense succeeded in bringing up as a witness a lawyer who had appeared for the defense in another case in which this Pateyuk acted as chief witness for the prosecution. This lawyer produced an official document from the Department of the Police showing that Pateyuk was a notorious perjurer, a robber and murderer, who should have been transported to a hard-labor penitentiary long ago. Thus the main plank of the prosecution failed.

"Three serious accusations—inciting peasants to agrarian crimes in 1906, attending a conference of revolutionists in Finland in 1907, where I was said to have voted for czaricide, organizing armed bands in the Ural—were shattered by the defense by numerous alibis: American papers containing notices of my lectures and meetings; several packs of business letters written by me to various business correspondents in England, and dated at the very period when, according to the prosecution, I was inciting Russian peasants to agrarian crimes, or attending revolutionary meetings and advocating attempts against the Czar's life! Finally, the story of my having raised fifty thousand dollars in the United States for the coffers of the revolution was disposed of, and acquittal became inevitable.

"The court refused to admit any written statements either by American or English witnesses, those sworn to before a notary or certified by a consul, although similar statements were admitted on the other side.

"Another extraordinary fact was that the subpœnas to all foreign witnesses ordered by the court to be forwarded to them by the 29th of January (the witnesses to be brought at the expense of

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the court) were detained by the Minister of Justice and returned to the court before the trial was over, instead of being handed to the Minister of Foreign Affairs for delivery to witnesses abroad. In case of a different verdict, the defense would have had legitimate reason for appeal. The lawyers' speeches were splendid.

"The sentence against your old friend [Madame Breshkovsky] meant transportation to penal settlements in Siberia in the course of a few months. There is, however, a rumor that the authorities may apply to her the law which allows old and disabled individuals to be kept for five years in prison instead of being set free on arrival in Siberia. Here lies a danger which by all means must be prevented. As to transportation, she declined to ask this to be arranged at her own expense, which we offered to her. No privileges of any kind does she wish. The voyage under ordinary escort is one of the most trying hardships of such a sentence, but this could not be helped.

"Oh, how painful it was to see her gray head and erect form disappear among the crowd of guards in the corridors of the court! This, the noblest and bravest woman I ever saw, thrown into the realm of the downtrodden, deprived of all human rights, and subjected to the petty caprice of any minor official or jailer! The danger is that the mildness of the verdict may be made a cause of revenge upon her behind the door of the prison. I never saw her face so radiant and so proud as at the moment of listening to the words of the verdict.

"My acquittal appears to be unconditional, the accusation being *not proven.* The decision of the court was unanimous, which was rather surprising to me, for I never hid from them my own disposition and the nature of my agitation abroad toward the present régime. At the same time I dwelt at length on the sweeping enthusiasm my appeal to American sympathies had called out.

"Please let the contents of this be known to all our common friends, and assure them of my sincerest gratitude for their sympathy and attention to my fate."

HADJE MOHMED OF LUNA PARK[1]

BY ALBERT EDWARDS

ON the top of a little hill overlooking the Bay of Tangier is a house belonging to Hadje Mohmed bin Yusef. Before it is a little platform of beaten earth where his apprentices go through endless acrobatic practice to prepare themselves for the music halls of the Infidels.

Hadje Mohmed is an American citizen; his voting residence is Luna Park. When I first met him, not knowing all this, I asked him if he spoke English. "Sure t'ing," he said. In reality he speaks Coney-Islandese. But if you saw him sitting with his lawyers before the Grand Mosque, as I did first, you would never suspect his Americanism. He dresses entirely after the Moorish manner while in Tangier. It was a decided shock for me to see the emblem of the "Elks" pinned in the folds of his flowing *jillab.*

Hadje Mohmed started out as a member of a troupe of tumblers. But he had risen to the point where he had his own show on the "Midway" at the Columbian Exposition. He has been a partner with Buffalo Bill, has performed in Moscow and Buenos Aires. At present he has ten troupes on the road, and is a rich man.

Hadje Mohmed has kept true to his religion. How many Christians who vote from Coney Island can make a like claim? He has made the pilgrimage to Mecca, and he has never—not even at his initiation to the Elks—violated the Prophet's injunction against strong drink.

One day I rode out with him to his house on the hill. He wanted me to see

[1] The second of three articles on Moroccan life and conditions. The first, "My Friend the Shareef," appeared in The Outlook last week.—THE EDITORS.

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his "boys," and, above all, to meet his uncle, Si Ali el-Hafid.

"He's de real t'ing," Hadje Mohmed told me. "Foist Moorish American citizen. He long time in States. He used to be great artist. Now he go down and out—too old—dead one. But he good friend. He gotta heart big as box car."

We came to a gate in a high thorn hedge, and my host gave a shout in Arabic. Immediately there was uproar within. "Ba Mohmed!" "Ba Mohmed!" from a dozen boyish voices, "Ba" being the Arabic for "father." The gate swung open and the youngsters tumbled out, each struggling for the chance to hold "Ba" Mohmed's stirrup or care for his horse. Never have I seen such evident affection between a master and his apprentices. And I began to suspect that Hadje Mohmed's heart is also as big as a box car.

Inside we came on the flat of hard-beaten earth, the scene of the boys' practice. No mats for these lads; if they fall, it is on ground as hard as concrete. Beyond the little plateau is a down sweep of yellow sand to the Bay—light green in the shallows where the white surf breaks, then turning blue farther out, until, beyond the Cape, is seen the ultramarine of the Straits. Twenty miles across are the yellow hills of Spain.

To the left of the practice field is a low white, red-tiled house.

"My office," said Hadje Mohmed. "Not much. Better office at Coney Island. Good 'nuff for Morocco. Nut'in' up to date here."

Within, sitting cross-legged on a gorgeous Sous carpet, under a signed portrait of President Grant and a picture of the Flatiron Building, was Si Ali el-Hafid, white-haired, his eyes sunken and glassy. He was over eighty years old and nearing his dotage. But the sight of an American seemed to revive him. "Ich bin American," he said. In his old brain the many languages he had learned in his youth were sadly mixed. But gradually his memory awoke.

"See," he said, "President Grant gave me his picture. I go to White House, see President Grant and his wife. She—countrywoman."

Hadje Mohmed explained that Si Ali was a very wise man, and could tell at sight if a person was town-bred or a countryman.

"Yes," said Si Ali. "I tell always. You countryman."

I wonder if his guess about Mrs. Grant was any better. I have rarely seen a potato which was not cooked, and have the vaguest of ideas about the trees from which they are picked. But I did not like to contradict the old man, so I lied gracefully and said he was very wise.

Then he asked me to sit down and he would tell me a story.

"Ah," said Hadje Mohmed, "you listen. He great story-teller. Before he go to States he wander all round Morocco and tell stories. Hobo."

And the old man, remembering with much pain the English words, told me how it happens that there are devils in the world. When Allah sent the flood in the days of Noah, his object was to drown out evil. And Noah had special orders not to let any bad thing enter the ark. There was only one narrow gangplank, and Noah stood beside it with a big stick. All the people of the earth, all the animals, crowded about, hoping to get in. But Noah would let none pass who could not show a clean bill of health. At last all those predestined to be saved were aboard except a pair of asses. As in the eyes of Eastern people these are the most useful of all animals, Noah was anxious to save them, but they balked. He had a strenuous time trying to get them on the gangplank, and at last, losing his temper, he cursed them.

"Go in, you fools," he cried, "and may devils ride you!"

A few days after Noah had pulled up his anchor he heard a deafening row down in the hold. Running down, he was surprised to see a couple of devils teasing the elephants.

"How did you get aboard?" he demanded.

"Did you not tell us to ride in on the asses?"

"And so," said Si Ali, "because old Noah said bad words, we, his children, are plagued by devils."

The old man told me another story—this time of his own life. Forty years ago he had been with a troupe in Mexico

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City. And, going out into the country for a walk, he lost his way. At last he reached a cluster of adobe huts. His strange clothes attracted the village folk, including the *padre*. "They were all afraid of me," Si Ali said, "except the priest. 'Where do you come from?' he asked me. 'Tangier,' I said. I could speak Spanish very well. 'Where is Tangier?' he asked. 'In Africa,' I said. 'Where is Africa?' Such a stupid priest! 'In Jerusalem,' I told him for a joke." The *padre* fell down and kissed Si Ali's feet, and, getting up, preached a sermon on the spot, telling his flock that, on account of his own great sanctity, the Lord, as a special mark of favor, had sent him this messenger from the Holy City. "He asked me to preach to the people," Si Ali ended, "but I would not. Why should I, who am a Moor, help at a Christian meeting?"

Hadje Mohmed called his boys together for an exhibition. There were five who were full-grown, and a dozen youngsters around ten. Their work was commonplace enough—you can see it any summer day at Coney. But what impressed me was the good-fellowship and light-heartedness of it all. One reads and hears so much of the somber dignity of the Moor. I have never seen a crew who got so much fun from skylarking and horse-play. They were full of loving respect for the two older men, but were unrestrained by their presence. Old Si Ali, whom they helped out to a seat in the sun, was forever calling them clumsy imbeciles, and threatening them with his cane.

Hadje Mohmed took one of them by the ear—a strapping young giant of twenty—and led him over to me.

"See this stupid lunatic," he said; "he make much trouble. Last year I had him at Luna Park. He came home before me and tell everybody that Coney Island is on the bottom of the earth. He say you come to New York in big boat, then go down in deep, deep well, ride long time in car, come out other side of earth—that Coney Island. Si Ali, he been often in Coney Island in old days. He say young man here liar; he say you go to Coney by great big bridge. Young man say he never see no big bridge; he always go through earth to other side. Si Ali mad. He want to send him away for fool and liar. Then I come back and explain about Subway."

After the exhibition Hadje Mohmed invited me to dinner.

"You come my house for *kous-kous-soo*—Moor dinner. I got fine house in town. Si Ali, he tell you more stories. Si Ali play on *t'bil*—Moor drum—and *r'bab*—little fiddle with two string. Very fine."

From a narrow, dirty street we turned through a great arched gate into a dark court and up some perilously steep stairs to a high, light room. There were divans about three sides, and on the walls some prints from theatrical papers and some signed photos of vaudeville artists.

Si Ali tried—vainly—to teach me the Moorish way of eating *kous-kous-soo*. It is the most difficult table feat I have ever seen—infinitely more elusive than chopsticks. The *kous-kous-soo* is a cereal which has been drained and dried until it is as little cohesive as sawdust or fine birdshot. You—I should say the Moors—take a handful out of the common dish and by some mysterious sleight-of-hand roll it into a ball which sticks together and toss it a distance of three or four inches into their mouths. Once, after twenty attempts, I made something which looked like a ball, but when I tried to toss it to my mouth it exploded—all over my face. Then came grapes and tea—very sweet tea in which fresh mint leaves are crushed.

Something which my host said showed that they were men of the South—Berbers of the Sous Mountains. And at once I asked them to tell me about Sidi Hammo, the great poet of their people. I had known these "*andama*," which rival the "Rubáiyát" of Omar, through the translation of R. L. N. Johnston, for some time, but I wanted to hear them in the original *Shilhah* language, to catch the lilt of their rhythm.

"Sidi Hammo!" Hadje Mohmed cried gleefully. "You heard tell of Sidi Hammo? Our Sidi Hammo? How you hear about him?"

I told him that I had read some of his poems in English.

"It is impossible," said Si Ali. "Who could translate them? They have never been written down."

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The Shilhah is indeed an unwritten language. But Mr. Johnston, who has long been a resident of Mogador, discovered that it can be phonetically written in the Arabic alphabet. And from the lips of his Berber friends he copied down the treasured verses and translated them. But I could not persuade my hosts that this was possible until I recited to them some of the couplets I chanced to remember:

"When the last of the crop lies low, when the harvest is gathered in,
What held for us weal or woe? What stirred us to prayer or sin?

What sweeter heaven was here? What bitterer hell our lot?
Than the soft 'I love thee, dear?' Than the dread 'I love thee not?'

And may the mercy of the Lord belong
To Sidi Hammo—singer of this song."

"Yes! yes!" Hadje Mohmed shouted; "that's Sidi Hammo, sure s'ing!"

It was as though we, who were scarcely acquainted, had found a mutual friend.

There is a very pretty story about this old Berber singer. Tradition has it that he was an orphan, befriended by a widow with three daughters, to one of whom, Fadma, all Sidi Hammo's love and song was dedicated. While he was still a youth and entirely dependent on his benefactress a negro troubadour came to his village. And in the evening, as all the country folk were gathered about to hear him sing, for some unknown reason he made Fadma the butt of some slanderous gibes. There was no local song-knight to break a lance in her behalf. The boy Hammo was so distressed at his inability to defend her that he wandered, half-crazed, into the hills, and at last, overcome by sleep, found shelter beside the shrine of a saint. In the night a dream came to him. His mouth was filled with small round objects which at first he thought to be dried peas, but they proved to be pearls. The saint had taken pity on his sorrow and had given him the gift of song. He returned to the village and triumphantly routed the negro in a song tournament. Some of these, his first verses, Mr. Johnston has translated:

By what law, Allah, shall a raven gorge on so dainty sweet a fruit as this?

He, a barn-door fowl, is fain to fly to heaven. 'Tis not, indeed, for lack of feathers that he fails: the Lord would have none of him.

Because he is black, gunpowder is aping antimony, thinking to stain my lady's eyelash.

May the Angel of Death stay his hand from me until I have paid this slanderer's barley twice over in wheat!

May he who wounded Fadma live to herd with outcast peddlers. May they be his only associates. With them let him bear his pack from town to town in living death, until he perish!

Sidi Hammo was not, however, always so vituperative. The vividness of his hatred for this negro slanderer is only the reflex of his love for Fadma. Some of his love lyrics are exquisite.

While Si Ali was tuning up his *r'bab*, getting ready to sing me some of these songs, we were disturbed by a great hubbub at the gate. Then in broke a crowd of men. Most of them, by their *jillabs* of European cloth, seemed to be residents of Tangier. Two were evidently fresh from Berber land—their *jillabs* were of soft brown camel's-hair and their turbans were so wound that none of the central cap could be seen. And one wore the rags of a beggar. There was much kissing of hands and the clatter of hearty greetings. For a minute or more I was entirely forgotten. But when he had succeeded in settling his guests, Hadje Mohmed introduced them to me.

"Two men, sheiks from our country—the Sous—big chiefs. And the poor man, he a *nadhim*, great poet, like Sidi Hammo. His name Si Abu Bakr. All three make *hadje*—pilgrimage to Mecca. They bring news from Sous. I send out my boys; more Sous men come. By'mbye Si Abu Bakr, he sing. Oh, you wait, you hear real t'ing—real poet."

And then he turned to his guests. The two sheiks, the poet between them, held the place of honor. And the Tangier men kept them busy with questions. Every few minutes a newcomer would arrive, and again there would be salutations and greeting.

Of course they talked in Shilhah, and there are not half a dozen Europeans who can understand it. But it did not bore me, that half-hour of strange conversation. They were wonderfully expressive with their gestures. I could catch the drift of some of it. I could see when

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the news from home and loved ones was good or bad.

Suddenly a change came over them all. Every face became stolid and unexpressive; they used a lower tone. One of the sheiks began it, speaking earnestly for several minutes. There was a pause, and then the sheik turned to Si Ali—the oldest man present—with a direct question. There was a general nod of assent, as though he were recognized as the most fit to answer. When he had finished, one after the other took up the word, speaking gravely.

Hadje Mohmed leaned over and touched my knee. He winked roguishly. "They talk politics now," he whispered. "All like Tammany Hall."

When they seemed to have reached the end of the subject, Hadje Mohmed rose, and I could see that he was speaking of me.

"I tell them," he said, "you interested in Berber poetry, now he go sing."

Si Abu Bakr, the beggar, took from the tattered folds of his *jillab* a beautifully worked "*âood*," a very small lute on which one plays with an eagle quill. For a moment he thrummed away on it without any apparent rhyme or reason. At last he struck a chord which seemed to please him. He shut his eyes, threw back his head, and seemed lost in contemplation—reiterating that one chord pitilessly. Then he looked us over, staring vacantly at each of us a moment, still on the same chord. He began to sing, evidently composing as he went along. The first few couplets he found with difficulty, but suddenly assurance came to him, and he sang boldly and freely. At first his voice seemed unpleasant, as unmusical as his weird insistence on that one chord. But gradually some mystic charm came into it. Irresistibly, this inexplicable charm grew and grew. And when he had finished, I felt that I knew, vaguely, to be sure, but still I felt I knew, why his people call him a great poet.

It was ludicrous—painful—to hear Hadje Mohmed translate the song into the current slang of Coney Island. The poet's thought lost all grace of expression.

It had been a song of welcome to me; a comment on the mysterious working of the will of Allah and the great virtue of hospitality. If, said the poet, he had met me elsewhere, my clothes would have proclaimed me an Infidel—an enemy of his country and his God. He would have stepped aside that my shadow might not fall on him. But here he met me beside the table of dear friends; even if I had killed his father, the laws of guestship, as ordained by the Prophet, would restrain his hand from all but the giving of gifts. And he, Abu Bakr, was the most humble of all Allah's slaves—the most poor. He had nothing to offer me but the devout wish that Allah might shower me with blessing in this life and the life to come. And might the grace of Allah, the Protector, rest on all gathered here beneath the roof of Hadje Mohmed—most generous of benefactors.

Then the lute was passed to Si Ali.

"He also poet—not great poet—only sometimes great," said Hadje Mohmed.

The old man went through a similar preliminary to find a chord, and when he did find it, it was the saddest, most heart-sick one I ever heard. Si Ali's voice was old and cracked and harsh, but somehow the message came—the message of a heart in pain. It had the most definite of all artistic qualities—sincerity. There was no dry eye in the room when he finished.

"He sing homesick song. He great that time," Hadje Mohmed said. "He sing about Sous country. He not see his home, the mountains, for twenty years. He sing about wife who die down there in Sous country when he 'way off in America. He not gone back to see her tomb. He want to die quick and see her again. He great that time. I—crying."

For a moment we were all silent, and then Hadje Mohmed, to break the gloom caused by the old man's sorrow, handed the lute to one of the sheiks.

"He no poet," Hadje Mohmed explained. "We call him *raïs*—he sing other man's song. He go sing Arab song about old days in Spain."

There was no preliminary twanging this time; it was evidently a fixed tune, and more of a tune, more of a melody, than I have ever heard from Moorish musicians. It was surprising how much volume the sheik could get out of that little lute—volume and martial spirit. There was no need

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for Hadje Mohmed to tell me it was a war song. The sheik had a great round bass voice, and all the men joined in the refrain. Often the word "Andalusia" was repeated, and once or twice I caught the names of Seville and Granada.

When the ringing applause was over, one of the Tangier men took the lute and forced it on Hadje Mohmed.

"I no good poet," he said to me shamefacedly. "I just make funny verses, comedian—like Harry Lauder. They want me to sing song I made about politics, about Abd ul-Aziz and Mulai el-Hafid and the French. They all afraid to sing funny thing about politics. But I—American citizen. I ain't afraid."

So he sat down on the floor and bawled out his satire to their great amusement. At first the visitors from the South did not seem entirely to approve of his ribald gibes at the descendants of the Prophet. But his song must have been irresistibly funny, for before long they melted into uncontrolled hilarity.

And when he had finished, Hadje Mohmed handed me the lute.

"Now," he said, "you—you do a turn."

I protested that I was neither a poet nor the son of a poet, nor even distantly related to one. But all the Moors insisted.

"Oh, go on! Sing," Hadje Mohmed said. "They all want hear American song. Sing 'Bill Baily.'"

To escape the horror of the idea I recited "Drink to me only with thine eyes." Hadje Mohmed translated it. Abu Bakr, the poet, said it was a pleasing fancy and perhaps some day he would make a song of it.

When I left them, Hadje Mohmed accompanied me to the door.

"I see you some time in New York. Yes?" he said. "We have dinner some night at Rector's. Sure t'ing."

THE SERIOUS NOTE IN THE EDUCATION OF WOMEN

BY ANNIE P. HILLIS

WITHIN a few months two series of articles have been published in well-known periodicals concerning American women. One, in the "British Weekly," was entitled "The Idleness of American Women," and its author scored the sex roundly for having given up to men nearly every function properly its own. The other, written by a professor in one of our own universities, relegated American women to the enviable position of being "excrescences," parasites upon the body politic. Naturally these articles called forth much comment and criticism. While not for a moment admitting all that these writers set forth, certainly denying with emphasis their right, or the right of any one, to dub women "excrescences," there is enough truth underlying the conditions which have called the attention of these writers to such subjects to make thoughtful women ponder their present position.

The unprecedented advance both in material prosperity and in mechanical invention in this country in recent years has revolutionized the status of women as houseworkers and home-builders. When there were no sewing-machines or ready-made clothing or self-prepared foods or gas stoves, when there were few caterers and bakeries, it was necessary that women should stay at home and do a large part of the housework the cooking and sewing, with their own hands. There were no kindergartens, and children—for children had not yet become rare in our American homes—were taken care of, amused, and taught by their own mothers. It was as easy to teach them how to do things as to provide entertainment and devise games, so the girls learned how to sew and cook and keep house.

Now this is all changed. It is as cheap and much easier to buy clothing ready made as to have it made in the home.

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The long, quiet hours when mothers and daughters sat together uninterrupted by telephone or door-bell are memories of the past. It is doubtful whether anything in our present conditions can make up to our girls the loss of these conversations and communion between mother and daughter, when the little and great, the important and trivial, matters of life were discussed at leisure and with quiet spirit. It is little wonder that with such calming periods for soul-growth, to say nothing of the absence of the most natural and healthful physical exercise for women—housework—our girls are high-strung and nervous, frequently on the verge of hysteria. In cities, the American home in its own house is rapidly becoming more and more rare, and yet it has always been considered one of the bulwarks of our National character.

All this gives increasing freedom and leisure to the American woman. In spite of the feeling of rush and hurry which is universal, there has never before existed a large class, belonging neither to the nobility nor the very rich, who had such leisure and freedom from responsibility. A few privileged people of rank living under the Old Régime in France or other Old World monarchies attained more luxury and social place, but never has the great middle class, to which most of us belong, if we will confess it, possessed such abundance with so little demand for personal return as have the well-to-do women of our own cities.

This is not true of the men. Competition continually increases the tensity of their struggle, and the widow is terribly in evidence. It is something of an anomaly that there should be such uneven division of labor and responsibility, that the old chivalric idea of laying the spoils at the feet of Beauty—an idyllic, helpless femininity—to be accepted without other return than her smile and favor, should so largely persist in our matter-of-fact, practical American republic.

The chivalry of American men has been our boast. We have gloried in this noble quality even among the lower classes. It is a question whether it can exist much longer, whether it is already as general as formerly. And why should it be?

The old basis of feudal chivalry was frailty and dependence. The spirit of protection sprang up because women needed protection. The American girl scorns all that. She is self-reliant and self-sufficient. The six-foot captain of the basket-ball team laughs outright at the slender youth who would protect her. The business woman can earn her own support and would be beholden to no one. If there is more or less of the masculine in all this, is it strange that men recognize and treat it as such?

The attitude of our women is unprecedented. It is unlike that of the German woman, whose aspiration is to be a good *Hausmutter;* unlike that of the Frenchwoman, who has gone further than we in doing away with home and family, but who is her husband's partner, his treasurer, the planner and sharer of his economies and business enterprises, as eager to save as is the American woman to spend. We are unlike the Englishwoman, who still retains the idea that a man's house is his castle and he its chief. It is difficult to define the position of the American woman, especially since there are so many, and so many kinds of women. In this period of transition few exactly agree as to what she should be. All cling to the homage, many scorn the protection. Her independence and equality with the other sex must be recognized. She is slower to accept man's responsibility and accountability. The prospect of losing her ease and irresponsibility frightens some, but to many more the great dread is the loss of that delicate ideal relation suggested by Tennyson's well-known lines beginning—

> "Woman is not undeveloped man,
> But diverse. . . .
> Distinct in individualities,
> But like each other ev'n as those who love,"

and which, in spite of scoffers, too many have experienced to regard it only as a poet's ideal.

It is a transition time. It is too soon to predict the future. Meanwhile, what is to be done? Should woman undertake to share the work of man? Not at all, unless necessity compels. Such increase of competition has already greatly increased his difficulties. Shall we go back to home-made clothing and simpler living? We cannot. The men will not have it. Then what? Such conditions have not

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come about by chance. We are in a world where there is a definite purpose running through all events, where there is a definite march forward. It is, then, for women to find their place and fall in line.

Parallel with the changes in social conditions have occurred events in our history which indicate in part one proper occupation of the new leisure and freedom.

Up to the time of the Civil War there had never existed any organizations in which women worked together in a large and concerted way for the betterment of others outside of their own homes. With the opening of the war and its sudden and imperative call for volunteers there was a demand upon women, and they rose to meet it. With the organization of the Sanitary Commission began the first large enterprise in which women worked together for a great definite purpose. They were put through a terrible school in those four years, but they came out of it stronger, broader, trained women. They could no more go back to old methods and old outlooks than the oak can fold itself up in the acorn. At the close of the war there sprang up the different great organizations which are doing such splendid work to-day in every city. Our great benevolent and charitable institutions, the missionary boards of our churches, are, not wholly of course, but very largely, the result of concerted effort on the part of women. The women's club movement had its beginning at this time. All of the fine united work for others to which Dr. Dawson's phrase may be applied, "the union of those who love in the service of those who suffer," had its rise and development as women gained in leisure and freedom to work and plan for others.

Sometimes these things have been overdone. Some one recently proposed a club for the prevention of more clubs. The woman who belongs to a dozen may be indulging in club intoxication, whose proper cure would be a retreat provided in her own home. But she is harmless and innocuous compared with the woman whose freedom and luxury have degenerated into idleness and display. The woman who can find no better use for her wealth than to carry it about upon her own back is usually the woman who is bored by staying at home, by serious study, or by hearing the woes and bearing the burdens of the "other half." She must be amused and entertained and fed, and all this where she can see and be seen, so it is not strange if she be seized upon and upheld as the general type. She is, alas! too numerous. It seems a little unfair to the woman of serious purpose that her sister of the bridge-whist order should be considered representative, but there is this consolation—her influence is ephemeral. A burdock springs up quickly and flaunts its broad leaves in the sunshine, while an apple tree takes years for its growth and development. But long after the burdock has ceased to be, the apple tree is still blossoming and bearing fruit—which is a parable.

The spirit of the Golden Rule, which may be stated as "doing to the other half as you would that it might have been done unto you and yours, had you belonged to that other half," is becoming increasingly a part of our advancing civilization. Every year sees more thoughtful, intelligent care bestowed upon the less fortunate. This work is peculiarly fitting for woman. Just in the measure that she possesses the sympathy and tenderness with which she is credited, just in that measure is she fitted for this delicate task. If she have trained mind, strong physique, leisure, and wealth, so much more may she accomplish, for it is not a work of distribution which she is to perform, but a work of careful analysis and intelligent study of wants and needs, and how to prevent their recurrence, as much as or more than the immediate relief of suffering. Women have more leisure than men for this unpaid service, and it is one of the ways in which they may enter into man's duties without increasing his difficulties by competition. The greater part of want, ignorance, and suffering is found in our cities. The greatest leisure for women and freedom from household cares exists also in our cities. The same conditions do not hold true of women in villages and country, where service is incompetent and hard to find, where there is little apartment or boarding-house life, and where the whole scale of living is simpler and more normal. But in cities, where life is increasingly complex and difficult for the poor, and

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freer and easier for the well-to-do, where distances are short and easily covered by means of transportation, the crying need on one side should reach the possibility of relief on the other. Conditions are not going to become simpler or to right themselves until those who can spend time and thought give themselves to the intelligent discharge of such duties.

If our daughters, instead of confining themselves to the arts and accomplishments, were taught to prepare themselves for the assuming of such responsibilities, there would be improvement all along the line. There would be fewer society butterflies, there would be less striving for social place, less love of display with its attendant demands upon the man who must supply the means for display, more seriousness and sweetness among the girls themselves. The American girl has been so petted and praised that it shows latent strength that she can still rise to an opportunity when she sees it. She can do this, and it is but fair to herself that she be given a chance to do her real work. She is a citizen as well as her brother; let her be prepared to exercise the duties of her citizenship by assuming such necessary work. The training and educating of the neglected child, making him a useful member of society, is as real a service to the State as the bearing of arms. The prevention of suffering and crime is as important as the appropriation of money for jails and reformatories, and far better worth while. This does not conflict with a woman's preparation for the proper care of a house; it is in perfect harmony with it. It is the same spirit and ideal which is to be maintained in the one that is to be carried into the other, and the intelligent study of the problems of the home which must be preserved under the pressure of poverty and incapacity makes the study of the home in more affluent circumstances a rest and an inspiration. Our girls are restless and nervous because, however busy apparently, they recognize their occupation as temporary and not needed. Dignify their endeavors with the knowledge that they are doing permanent work, valuable to city and State, and the restlessness disappears. No one can always receive and not give a return without becoming weak and enervated. Let our girls once feel that there is before them a definite task for which they must be trained and fitted by knowledge and experience, that as citizens they owe to the State a return for the protection and benefits received, and it will not be long before such a charge as idleness and frivolity on the part of women will be reduced to a negligible quantity.

For the older woman, too, already a housekeeper, but with no family, or with children grown, so situated by circumstance that home cares are not enough to fill her time, the manner of the occupation of her leisure means far more than is usually realized. As children, most of us looked forward to a time when, being fully grown, we should remain stationary for many years until old age put in its appearance,; but that is a child's idea. If perpetual motion has been nowhere else discovered, it is demonstrated by every human being. Change, continual change from the cradle to the grave, is the universal law. It cannot be prevented; but into what we shall change may be largely controlled by our occupation and environment. About this there is a choice, and the woman of middle life needs also to see to it that her interests are broad and developing, if she does not wish to degenerate and become, if not frivolous, at least narrow and trivial, in her outlook.

Society is organized upon a basis which recognizes the right of woman to be supported by the other sex, because she is expected to make her return as mother and home-maker. When she fulfills these duties, she has earned the privilege of support by husband and protection by State. When she declines to fulfill these duties, or when, without any fault of her own, she cannot fulfill these duties, society and State have the right to expect of her an equivalent in other service. Education and philanthropy—not in the old narrow sense, but the betterment in every way of our future citizens as well as the relief of present distress—seem at present the most possible and most needed way of returning some equivalent for value received. The transition from the old home life with its constant demands to the new conditions where the demands are largely external and not obligatory has come without a realization on the part of women

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as to what it signifies, so it is not strange that it should be unappreciated and misunderstood. There is a very simple old rule which clarifies the whole matter: "Every benefit implies an obligation; every opportunity a responsibility." When women once awaken to the fact that, however conditions may have changed, underlying principles remain the same, obligations and responsibilities will be met as is befitting the women of our great republic.

THE NEW DEPARTURE IN INDIA

BY A FORMER INDIAN OFFICIAL

ALTHOUGH India is supposed not to be a party question in the British Parliament, the recent Liberal Secretary of State deliberately used his tenure of office to advance the cause of Liberalism in that conservative country, in spite of the grave doubts expressed by many of those best qualified to offer an opinion. While Lord Morley has disclaimed the idea of transplanting Occidental institutions into the East merely because they exist in the West, and of introducing the parliamentary system, he has sanctioned changes involving a large transfer of political power, which must inevitably lead to further demands. The Conservative Viceroy, Lord Minto, perceiving that the professional classes, chiefly Hindus and lawyers, had well-nigh monopolized the elective places in the Legislative Councils, proposed, in 1906, changes intended to give more adequate representation to the great landowners and the Mohammedans, the factors making for stability and loyalty, who had been improperly neglected and overborne. Lord Morley has gone much further. The principle of Lord Minto's proposals has been lost sight of or set aside. By the Indian Councils Bill the predominance of the Hindus and the professional classes will be stereotyped; the Mohammedans, though they will have more representatives than hitherto, will be in a hopeless minority. But, above all, Lord Morley has deliberately aimed at reducing the power and prestige of the bureaucracy, as he has called the Indian Civil Service, which is charged with the administration of the country, and at aggrandizing the position and rights of those who have hitherto had little political power. There are many who consider that some change of system had to be made. Since the Mutiny of 1857, but more particularly as a consequence of the famous education despatch of 1854 and the foundation of Indian universities in 1857, education in India has advanced by leaps and bounds, especially among the Mahratta Brahmins and the Bengali Baboos. The B.A.'s and M.A.'s produced by this education, mostly of a literary character, have been far too numerous to be absorbed in the Government services. They have taken to law, medicine, and journalism, a few have turned to engineering, hardly any have adopted industrial pursuits. The most successful have made fortunes at the Bar or obtained judgeships of the High Courts; a few have entered the Civil Service by competition. The aggregate numbers of educated and literate persons form, as the census of 1901 showed, but an infinitesimal percentage of the whole population, but they constitute the only articulate body of native opinion, and, by means of the vernacular newspapers, often scurrilous and disloyal, as well as by constitutional organization, have made themselves felt by the Government. In 1885 the National Indian Congress first met; since then it has assembled annually in one of the chief towns and has passed a number of resolutions formulating its aspirations and demands, of which the Government has always refused to take official cognizance. The persistent agitation has taken the direction of demanding a larger share in the government of the country, by changes in the political Constitution and by the transfer

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of appointments hitherto reserved for Europeans. The agitators are split up into parties: the Moderates aim at self-government for India, supported by British troops—something of the type of a self-governing colony; the Extremists advocate the expulsion of the English from India, and adopt methods of terrorism, even personal violence and assassination, as the means towards their desired end. The Mohammedans at first stood aloof from the National Indian Congress, but have since found it necessary to agitate on their own behalf, lest their interests should suffer further. They now claim to be represented only by men chosen by Mohammedan electorates. The continued agitation of the Hindus has had its effect. Lord Minto, on arriving in India in 1905, found the country disturbed in consequence of the strenuous policy of his predecessor, whose domineering manners, plain speaking, and ceaseless hankering for efficiency had alienated the educated classes; the partition of Bengal, University legislation, and educational policy presented points for attack, of which the agitators were not slow to avail themselves. The country has recently passed through a period of unrest. Anarchism has reared its head; the peace has been broken in several places; innocent ladies have been murdered; attempts have been made with bombs and revolvers on the lives of officials, including Sir Andrew Fraser, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal; European goods have been boycotted; *Swaraj* (Home Rule) has been preached openly; the Government has had to institute fifty-eight prosecutions of vernacular newspapers for sedition in two years, and to pass an Act for the summary trial of deeds of violence. Lord Minto some time since took credit to himself for having proposed reforms before these outrages occurred; notwithstanding the latter, he expressed himself determined to pursue his policy, though many have urged that reforms should be postponed until quiet was restored. Lord Minto's policy is obviously one of concession to the agitation of the last twenty-five years. The proposals finally formulated by the Government of India in 1908 have been accepted by Lord Morley so far as they suited his doctrinaire views, but he has shown a determination to govern India from England, keeping all the time, as he said, an eye upon Parliament.

India from time immemorial has been the country of personal rule; nowhere has the doctrine of the divine right of kings found stronger expression. Since the English took India they have maintained a strong administration based on personal rule. To the people the district officer has been the embodiment of the British *Ráj*, concentrating in himself all the powers of a French *préfect* and the energy of the English. The process of legislation, which it has been necessary to establish, has gone through various stages of evolution; the Legislative Councils, originally entirely official, have been opened more and more to non-officials, including natives of the country; the right of interpellation was ceded in 1892, and debates on the annual budgets have been allowed, though hitherto no motion for dividing the Council on a financial point has been permissible. Hitherto in all the councils, executive and legislative, a distinct official majority has been maintained by law and by arrangement. Hitherto the Viceroy's Executive Council, the Government of India, the real Cabinet which governs the country, has been composed entirely of Europeans. The Government has thus been able to carry any policy it was bent upon, and to protect the interests of all classes, especially those of the dumb millions living by agriculture, for India is an agricultural country. Lord Morley has refrained from destroying the British supremacy in India, but short of this he has done all in his power to increase the difficulties of governing it. The impartiality of the Government of India has hitherto been above suspicion. Lord Morley, taking advantage of an old statute, which abolished all bars of race, creed, or color, has appointed a leading Hindu barrister to the Supreme Executive Council as Legal Member, in which capacity he will be the head of the Legislative Department and the responsible mouthpiece of the Government in the Legislative Council. No native of India has ever before held this appointment, which distinguished jurists like Macaulay, Maine, Stephen, and Hobhouse have adorned. No Hindu or Mohammedan will ever believe that

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a Hindu Legal Member will not use his position to benefit the Hindus, so that the Council's reputation for impartiality will be lost. The following changes have all required the legislation embodied in the Indian Councils Bill. The Supreme Legislative Council has been considerably enlarged and more of its members are to be elected by popular vote, but, when all the members are present, there will still be an official majority, so that in the last resort the Government will be able to carry any legislative measure. The Supreme Government of India cannot allow itself to be beaten, because there is no Opposition available to take its place. Elsewhere in the world a government in a minority in its legislature must resign, but the Government of India cannot resign. Its final power must therefore be maintained. But hereafter, in consequence of the changes now to be introduced, it will be possible to carry financial resolutions against the Government, which the latter is to be at liberty to accept or reject. It will be permissible also to discuss and divide upon questions of public interest, and to ask supplementary questions, in the Legislative Councils. In the Provincial Legislative Councils, which also are to be greatly enlarged and to a greater extent elected by popular vote, the business will be similar, though limited to the province; but in these councils the official majority has been abolished by Lord Morley. The Provincial Governor or Lieutenant-Governor is to have power to veto any measure carried against the Government, and if a Provincial Government cannot carry its own measures, it will be able to ask the Supreme Legislature, which is to retain its official supremacy, to carry them for it. Thus, while the semblance of power is given to the non-officials, the reality is withheld. Such an arrangement cannot long be satisfactory and will supply matter for future agitation. There are already Executive Councils in Madras and Bombay, each consisting of two civilian members. Lord Morley has added two more places to each, so that he may appoint native members thereto. In the provinces ruled by Lieutenant-Governors there have hitherto been no Executive Councils. It was proposed in the Bill to take power to create them, but the House of Lords threw out the clause on the ground of insufficient information. The House of Commons intends to reinsert it, as the Viceroy has reported strongly in its favor; the Lords must accept it, and it will assuredly be acted on in Bengal forthwith, as the Lieutenant-Governor asks for an Executive Council to help him.

The new departure taken by Lord Morley, on Lord Minto's initiative, thus consists in the larger employment of natives in India, in the enlargement and creation of Provincial Executive Councils, in the extension of the Legislative Councils, and in the abolition of the non-official majority in the provinces. The difficulties of governing India will be enormously increased. One Lieutenant-Governor has already told the Civil Service officials that in future they must depend upon persuasion and conciliation, and not upon the possession of power, as hitherto. It will be hard upon the officers if they are to be held equally responsible for good administration when their powers shall be diminished. The efficiency of the administration will inevitably be impaired. The object of the natives, to judge by the past, has not been to assist the Government by co-operation; their object has been to thwart it wherever it has attempted to introduce measures on Western lines unacceptable to the East. The situation is full of serious aspects. Less progress will be made in future in India, although a Liberal Secretary of State is responsible for the reforms. Racial relations, sometimes embittered, will not be improved by the advancement of natives, unless the native character greatly improves. The surrender of some appointments and much power to the natives will only whet their appetite for more. Anarchism, wherever it reappears, will be suppressed with a strong hand, but the agitators have been too successful to forego further efforts. The rivalry and jealousy of the Hindus and Mohammedans will always remain to give trouble. And to what is the new departure finally to lead? As Mr. Balfour said in the House of Commons, What is the evolution? The English have no intention of evacuating India, or of allowing it to become the battlefield of contending nations. They are only making difficulties for themselves by introducing

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Western principles contrary to the genius and history of the East. *Vestigia nulla retrorsum* is a true saying in politics. It remains to be seen how the new system will work. It is for the natives to show that they can be trusted to use properly the greater political power which they have acquired.

MR. ROOSEVELT AND THE VATICAN

On the whole, the comments of the American press upon the incident which resulted in Mr. Roosevelt's visiting Rome without having an audience with the Pope are in the spirit of his message to the American people which was published in The Outlook last week. The comments have been calm, good-tempered, and broadly tolerant. Most of the papers have approved and commended Mr. Roosevelt's action and declared it to be the only one possible to him under the circumstances. Many of them have said as well that the authorities of the Vatican were quite within their rights in taking the action that they did. There has been some tendency on the part of the Roman Catholic press, in defending the action of the Vatican, to criticise Mr. Roosevelt, and on the part of the Methodist press, in defending the methods of the Methodist Church in Rome, to criticise the Vatican. Some few papers which never let slip an opportunity for bitter criticism of Mr. Roosevelt have made of this incident an occasion for comment of that kind. But the well-nigh universal tone of comment has been admirably restrained and sensible. We print below extracts from a number of papers representing different sections of the community.—THE EDITORS.

From Zion's Herald, Boston (Methodist)

We believe the intolerance of the Vatican will be regretted by the great majority of American Catholics. Living in a country where religious liberty is enjoyed by all, they must deplore the mediæval attitude of the head of their Church, though loyalty will not permit them to say so. Mr. Roosevelt, like Mr. Fairbanks, adopted the only course consistent with dignity and self-respect. He had made no engagement to address the Methodists, and probably had no intention of doing so, but he could not allow the Vatican to dictate to him, assuming that he could not be trusted to treat the Pope with proper respect.

From the New York Sun

A message from the American People: "Be calm."

From the Pilot, Boston (Roman Catholic)

The point to keep in mind is this—it is utterly indefensible to expect the Vatican to receive as a guest of honor any one, whoever he may be, who is unwilling to admit the right of the host to maintain his self-respect.

The Methodist College in Rome has given unnecessary and wanton offense to the Roman Pontiff. To receive with honor any one who in any way might appear to indorse such offensive action would be a demonstration of lack of principle and becoming dignity on the part of the Vatican.

Mr. Roosevelt wishes to appear to regret an incident which it was entirely in his power consistently with all proper personal liberty to avoid. He pretends that he could not accept any conditions. But this is simply absurd. Would he while President accept and receive as his guest any and every one no matter what his principles or his actions? Certainly not; the whole Nation would protest.

American Catholics know who is wrong.

From the Boston Herald

Americans, Protestant and Catholic alike, cannot do better than to regard the negotiations between the Vatican and Mr. Roosevelt in the spirit of broad toleration for which the former President appeals in his letter to the American public through Dr. Abbott, the editor of The Outlook. . . . Americans will, as they safely can, judge him as they know him. They will impute to him no motives of disrespect for the head of the Catholic Church, they will find in his course nothing which the most devout member of the Church can justly condemn. And if they possess the true American spirit of toleration for which Mr. Roosevelt stands, and which has opened the great field of the United States to the labor and wonderful progress of the Catholic Church, they will not find in this incident anything to justify bitterness or controversy.

From the Catholic News, New York

All the froth and fury over the Roosevelt incident in Rome are likely to hide the real question. . . . Were the Vatican authorities justified in assuming the attitude they maintained? . . . All the talk of our Methodist and other Protestant friends in this country that the conditions imposed by the Vatican were intolerant and contrary to the American spirit of religious liberty is the veriest nonsense. . . .

The Methodists tried to use the influence of

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the ex-President of the United States in their warfare against the Church, and Mr. Roosevelt, to his credit be it said, vigorously resented the attempt. It was from just such an entanglement Cardinal Merry del Val endeavored to protect the ex-President of the United States. Now he must realize that the Vatican authorities have very good reason openly to condemn the warfare of the Methodists on the Church.

From the Irish World, New York (Roman Catholic)

Knowing the character of the proselytizing system conducted by the Methodists in Rome, we can understand why the Holy Father declined granting an audience to Mr. Fairbanks. We also can see why he refused to meet Mr. Roosevelt unless he had previous assurances that there would be no repetition of the Fairbanks incident. Mr. Roosevelt declined to give such assurances, and consequently Pius X would not grant him an audience. . . . We cannot help thinking that if Mr. Roosevelt had been requested by any European sovereign, as a condition precedent to an audience, not to deliver an address before well-known and avowed enemies of that sovereign, he would have complied, recognizing that a regard for common decency imposed upon him compliance. Is not the august personage who represents a line of spiritual sovereigns reaching back, as Macaulay points out, to a time when the ancestors of the head of every royal house in Europe were savages, entitled to at least as much consideration as Mr. Roosevelt would be willing to accord to the German Kaiser or to the English King?

From the Rochester (New York) Post Express

These [Mr. Roosevelt's words in his cablegram to The Outlook] are wise and conciliatory words, and it is to be hoped that Colonel Roosevelt's counsel will be respected.

From the Washington (D. C.) Herald

The ex-President is quite right in assuming that his countrymen, regardless of church affiliations, will approve his course. It was wholly American and in keeping with his character as an American citizen.

His cablegram to The Outlook gives importance to the episode which he would minimize as purely personal. He seeks to forestall bitter and rancorous comment. Certainly none is called for. He is a broad-minded man whose respect for the Catholic Church none can gainsay. His wish to pay his respects to the Pope is conclusive enough on that point.

From the New York Evening Journal

The people will follow Mr. Roosevelt's advice, they will NOT become excited about this matter, and we shall not have Americans, Protestant or Catholic, indulging in foolish religious disputes.

But it would have been just as well if Mr. Roosevelt had not sent that foolish message asking the people to take calmly what is of no importance whatever.

And it would have been better still if Mr. Roosevelt had shown to the Pope the respect and the courtesy that he himself so energetically demands from others.

From the New York Tribune

As it now appears, the conditions which it was sought to impose reflected an entirely gratuitous apprehension, but that is not of the essence of the case. Mr. Roosevelt does not for a moment question the propriety of the Pope's decision, on the one hand, while, on the other, we have no doubt that his fellow-countrymen will cordially approve his manifestation of personal self-respect and his assurance to the American people that there is no occasion whatsoever for bitterness.

From the New York Evening Post

We cannot feel too grateful to Theodore Roosevelt for his thoughtfulness in advising the American people how to think about this dreadful catastrophe in Rome. There would have been Orange riots in the streets of New York to-day and the burning of a Catholic church or two in Kansas, if this calm, manly, high-minded telegram from Rome had not appeared simultaneously with the shocking news that the Pope and Mr. Roosevelt will not meet. . . . All our people will to-day speak kindly to their Catholic friends, as he wishes, and put their revolvers back into their holsters.

From the Congregationalist, Boston

Doubtless a broader-minded and more tactful person would have trusted Mr. Roosevelt, as any other prominent gentleman, to have due regard, not only to the proprieties, but also to the feelings of one in the position of the Pope, whom he had requested to grant him an audience. . . . It will be easy to elevate the significance of this incident beyond its value. . . . The main result in this country ought to be to increase our thankfulness that ours is a country of religious freedom. This is what Mr. Roosevelt says in a wise and kindly letter to The Outlook.

From the Hartford (Connecticut) Courant

In his own words, he acted in the only way an American—in such circumstances—could act.

Characteristically, he asks all of us here at home to let the incident pass as merely personal and unimportant, refraining from harsh comment. The appeal does credit to his good heart, but, human nature being what it is, will not mend the mischief that has been so needlessly and tactlessly done. The law of cause and effect is inexorable.

From the New York World

We can assure Mr. Roosevelt that the American people are still calm and are bearing up bravely. Not a single resolution has

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been introduced in Congress directing the President to send the battle-ship fleet up the Tiber to shell Rome. The general feeling is one of sympathy with the Vatican in having missed "a perfectly corking time" on account of the restrictions of Papal etiquette.

Even if Mr. Roosevelt had not sent that impassioned cablegram to Dr. Abbott pleading for "the avoidance of harsh and bitter comment," we think the American people would have restrained themselves and gone to work as usual yesterday morning when the whistle blew.

From the Churchman, New York (Protestant Episcopal)

Colonel Roosevelt, in taking the stand which he did in regard to an audience at the Vatican, has upheld the highest American political traditions. His action has commended itself, as is already evident, to Americans without distinction of creed.

From the New York Times

But for the life of us we can't see what the behavior of the Methodists has to do with Merry del Val's refusal to grant to an ex-President of the United States the privilege of being presented to the Pope.

So far as the public is informed, Mr. Roosevelt had no intention whatever of going near the Methodists, or by any other act of omission or commission of offending against the etiquette of the Vatican. Nevertheless, an audience was refused save under conditions which no man could with self-respect have accepted. Now Mr. Roosevelt has canceled the arrangements for the reception to Americans in Rome, at which, conceivably, some of the Methodists might have been present. That must give the Vatican household further reason to regret the somewhat superfluous precautions it felt called upon to take.

From the Christian Advocate, New York (Methodist)

The whole matter is this: The Vatican suspected Roosevelt and attempted to make him pledge himself. They neither understood human nature nor that type seen in Mr. Roosevelt. As a politician he knew too much. As a man he would not accept so much. . . .

It was a situation where patriotism, politics, and personal dignity united in forming his resolution. We have seen no condemnation of his course. No American Catholic who thinks for himself will resent his act. No Protestant can condemn it, and people of other religions or none will perceive its fitness.

From a statement by the Rev. John J. Burke, Editor of the Catholic World, New York

Every honest American will give heed to Mr. Roosevelt's own words in his cable message to The Outlook: "The incident will be treated in a matter-of-course way, as merely personal, and, above all, as not warranting the slightest exhibition of rancor or bitterness."

There can be no question of the love that the Holy Father bears our country and our non-Catholic brethren. . . .

The Holy Father looked forward with pleasure to the expected visit of Mr. Roosevelt. The court of the Vatican is a court, and as such is worthy of respect. Like every court, it has its conditions, which all visitors must respect. These conditions are well known, and no prospective visitor—even among the most notable sovereigns of the world—thinks of violating them. If he does so, he knows that he will not be received, and he knows also that he will have no one but himself to blame. . . . The same conditions apply to Mr. Roosevelt as to any other man. Every American may rest assured that to refuse the audience caused much pain and regret to the Holy Father, who had expressed his delight at meeting Mr. Roosevelt.

And it must be a cause of equal regret to every American that Mr. Roosevelt did not see his way to accept conditions which the Vatican out of self-respect had to lay down, and hear from the lips of the great ruler of Christendom his words of love for America and its people.

From the Berliner Tageblatt (Germany)

Whatever else may be said of the Vatican incident, it is Roosevelt who from the outset has conducted himself with dignity and tact, which is more than can be said of Merry del Val's diplomacy.

From a statement by Bishop John S. Foley of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Detroit

It is an affair between gentlemen, and to make a religious issue of it is absurd. . . . I have too high a regard for Mr. Roosevelt to take the slightest offense at his attitude. He has shown marked courtesy to Catholics whenever he has come in contact with them, and we all realize that he would never intentionally offend those of our faith.

From the Boston Transcript

Mr. Roosevelt has done more than any other public man in this country to break down denominational barriers. His friendship, both personal and political, with the leading American Catholics has been long and pronounced, and no fear need be felt that this episode will occasion any rupture. They will, as a rule, regret that, as the beneficiaries of the splendid religious toleration of this country, the ecclesiastical authorities on the other side have been indisposed to show a similar spirit and one in keeping with the ideals of the twentieth century.

From the Elmira (New York) Advertiser

Mr. Roosevelt is a man of independence, and yet no one, we presume, doubts his broad sympathies and tolerance. Neither respect for religion nor religious liberty will suffer through him.

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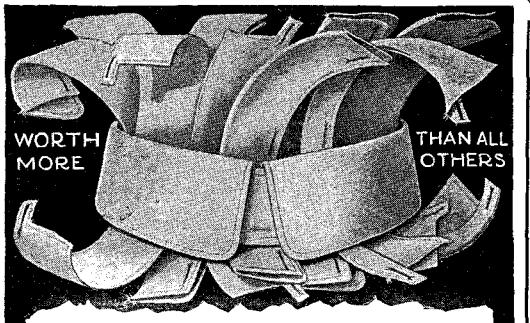

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